DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 227 998 RC 013 956

AUTHOR Verble, Sedelta, Ed.
TITLE Ohoyo Makachi: Words of Today's American Indian Women. A First Collection of Oratory by American Indian/Alaska Native Women.
INSTITUTION OHOYO Resource Center, Wichita Falls, TX.
SPONS AGENCY Women's Educational Equity Act Program (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE 81
GRANT OE-G008006076
NOTE 191p.; Addresses from the Ohoyo Resource Center Conference on Educational Equity Awareness (Tahlequah, Oklahoma, April 3-5, 1981) and other selected conference speeches.
PUB TYPE Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC08 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Alaska Natives; American Indian Education; American Indian History; *American Indians; Civil Rights; Employment; *Equal Education; *Females; Feminism; Futures (of Society); Humor; Leadership; *Management Development; Networks; *Role Models; Speeches
IDENTIFIERS *Oratory

ABSTRACT

The volume presents a collection of 39 conference speeches symbolizing an effort by American Indian and Alaska Native women to speak for themselves, about themselves and to each other. Topics of speeches presented at Tahlequah consist of: past positives and present problems of Indian women; squaw image stereotyping; status of Indian women in Federal employment; cross cultural networking; how the Equal Rights Amendment relates to Indians; how educational equity can make a difference; contemporary Indian humor; networking in Indian country; accessing Indian education; leadership development; Indian women administrators as role models; educational equity insight; and impacting curriculum. Other speech topics presented outside the Tahlequah conference, but included for their significance are: changing times and changing roles of Alaska Native women; steps toward Native leadership; Indian women as change agents for Indian policy; historical perspective of the Dakota woman; Indian women's challenge in the 80's; Indian women and feminism; and retrospect and prospect of the past, present, and future of Indian women. (ERB)

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WORDS OF TODAY'S AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN: OHOYO MAKACHI

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WORDS OF TODAY'S AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN

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OHOYO MAKACHI

COVER CREDITS: The cover design incorporates contributions from artist Gabrielle Wynde Tateyuskanskan (Dakota) and Bacone College linguist Dr. Charles Van Tuyl (Cherokee), who helped to develop a typewriter element utilizing Cherokee alphabet. Dr. Van Tuyl generously translated the word "woman" into the various Indian languages blended onto the cover design. Artist Tateyuskanskan, designer of the Ohoyo logo, embodied the artwork with symbolic meaning through the use of a tipi representing the home, the ear of corn representing sustenance, herbs respresenting healing and the pipe as a symbol of spiritual growth. The four symbols encircle three figures personifying unification of Indian generations: youth, adult and elder.

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WORDS OF TODAY'S AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN:

OHOYO MAKACHI

A first collection of Oratory by American Indian/Alaska Native Women.

Addresses from the 1981 Ohoyo Resource Center Conference on Educational Equity Awareness in Tahlequah, Okla.; and other selected conference speeches.

COMPILED BY:
Ohoyo Resource Center Staff
Owanah Anderson, Director
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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
T. H. Bell, Secretary

The activity which is the subject of this report was produced under a grant (No. OE-G008006076) from the U.S. Department of Education, under the auspices of the Women's Educational Equity Act. However, the opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the Department of Education, and no official endorsement by the U.S. Department of Education should be inferred.

Prepared and distributed by:

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Preface

This volume represents more than a collection of conference speeches, more than a year of planning, coordinating and strategizing for the Ohoyo Resource Center staff, facilitators and on-site coordinators.

What this volume symbolizes is an effort by American Indian and Alaska Native women to speak for themselves, about themselves and to each other in past, present and future perspectives on a wide range of topics. The three hundred participants attending the conference at Northeastern State University in Tahlequah, Okla., came from 11 states and numerous tribes though they primarily hailed from Oklahoma, to listen, react and interact to the conference theme, "Indian Women at the Crossroads: Identifying Guideposts." The speakers were just as diverse and yet it was hoped that amid the diversity we could identify similarities and common goals for the Indian women who share common experiences as they seek to attain educational equity and lead their families, tribes and personal careers to more productive levels.

The conference was viewed as a regional effort, but it is hoped that with this volume more Indian and Native women can share the conference goals and findings and that a larger audience will be able to experience the mood and objectives explored by 300 Indian women amid the beauty of the historic capital of the Cherokee Nation in the Cookson hills of Oklahoma early one spring weekend in April, 1981.

Through funding from the Women's Educational Equity Act Program in Washington, D.C., Ohoyo Resource Center adds this volume to a series of materials which seek to fill a void, to acquaint our country's policymakers and educators with the accomplishments, diversities and roles of today's Indian and Native women. Past and forthcoming Ohoyo products include NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN: A BIBLIOGRAPHY, compiled by Dr. Rayna Green, addressing 300 years of textbook neglect; 1980 RESOURCE GUIDE OF AMERICAN INDIAN-ALASKA NATIVE WOMEN, a directory of 630 Indian women's achievements and expertise in 82 professional categories; a BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CULTURE-BASED CURRICULUM MATERIALS, compiled by Dr. Margaret Nelson; and the ongoing quarterly news bulletin, OHOYO.

The name of the volume reflects the Resource Center's efforts toward promoting cross-cultural awareness. The word "Ohoyo" has achieved a high level of recognition among our readership as the Choctaw word for "woman." OHOYO MAKACHI, translated

WOMEN SPEAK (SAY THAT), seems a natural choice for a volume that seeks to present the many voices of Indian women.

It is doubtful that this volume could have come about or that the conference would have been as successful without the dedication and work of many people. Special thanks must go to Wathene Young, Tahlequah on-site coordinator and the Northeastern Oklahoma chapter of the North American Indian Women's Association, and to Dr. Ruth Arrington who invited the conference to follow her outstanding Symposium on the American Indian, an annual academic gathering for Indian scholars at Northeastern State University. Northeastern currently houses the highest per capita enrollment of Indian students for any state-operated university and offered an ideal location for the conference. For the three dozen facilitators and speakers who responded to Ohoyo's call for papers, and especially to Dr. Leslie Wolfe for her enduring dedication to Indian women, thanks are in order. The volume has been a cooperative effort of the entire Ohoyo staff which includes Noalene Clanton, Kim Rankins and Fran Walton. The most heartfelt thanks must go to the participants themselves who traveled long distances to bring forth urban and rural perspectives and to act as catalysts in an atmosphere of learning and sharing.

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April 3-5, 1981
Tahlequah, Okla.

Presented by:
Ohoyo Resource Center
Wichita Falls, Tex.

Funded by:
Women's Educational
Equity Act Program

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Welcome

Octa Keen (*Omaha*)

President, Northeastern Oklahoma Chapter, North American Indian Women's Association; registered nurse.

Throughout the centuries, Indian women have made their contributions to mankind as mothers, wives, and homemakers.

Now, in addition to those traditional roles, many of us find ourselves, either by choice or by necessity, taking a more active role by assuming new careers.

These careers not only provide us with additional responsibilities and rewards, but also present us with many new and perplexing problems that we must solve if we are to make sound decisions and thereby derive the most benefits for ourselves and our families.

Indian women are now at the crossroads: before we go off in a rush, we must have an idea of where we are going — we must identify *our guideposts*.

It is our hope that each of you present today will leave this conference with a clearer vision of which path you must follow in order for you to arrive at your destination.

The Northeastern Oklahoma Chapter of the North American Indian Women's Association is honored and privileged to co-host this conference, along with the Ohoyo Resource Center and Northeastern State University.

As President of the Northeastern Oklahoma Chapter of NAIWA I would like to extend to you a very warm welcome to Tahlequah, and to this conference, and to offer any assistance that we can in making your stay here both pleasant and productive.

National Advisory Council On Women's Educational Programs: An Indian Perspective

Carolyn Attneave (*Delaware/Cherokee*)

Presidential Appointee, National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs; Professor of Psychology and Adjunct Professor, Psychiatry-Behavioral Sciences, University of Washington. Ph.D., Stanford University, 1952.

I'm here to welcome all of you and to try to share with you a bit about the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs. It was started about 1975 as a specially charged council to advise the president and, at that point, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, on problems of women, particularly involving either their acquiring education or their need for education or their inter-relationship in any way with education and training.

As you know, the Council has gotten itself some interesting publicity. Any of you who have women athletes in your family, or aspiring ones, know that one of the things the Council did was to insist that all schools, including universities, give equal, or proportional, depending on what kind of enrollment there was, support to women's athletics as they did for men. And, of course, when you start figuring what proportion of funding goes to football teams and say "women want their share, they want an equal amount," it's kind of shocking to alumni and college presidents and everybody else. On the other hand, it has been working, as far as I know. No university, no college, has had it's funds taken away because it refused to do this. Some have complained a little bit louder and women are claiming that they aren't getting adequate coaching, adequate training, adequate opportunities to express themselves in that field.

There have been efforts also to address other inequitable issues and to hold hearings to listen to women all over the country in terms of their problems and their needs in the vocational educational area. The voc-ed act is up for funding again and in order that

it isn't decided that the only vocational need for women is home economics and if you put all the money into that you don't have to worry about women learning anything else this process is necessary. We find that there has been an improvement in attitude of a lot of the women to secure the kind of training which will develop each of us in our own ways, in our own talents, rather than presuming that there are only a few things they can do. Not that we all couldn't learn some homemaking skills to add to what we have as knowledge; not that we couldn't all learn to type and maybe be a little better off — but that this is not all we do. There are women in every vocation, in every occupation. We have potential and we need to have the opportunities to develop our talents. These are only two examples.

The work in the Council is divided among its 25 members according to three main committees. One committee has to do with funding programs which will allow for the development of materials, expertise and training, the WEEA programs that many of you here have been involved in and know about.

I'm involved with federal policies and procedures committee. It's kind of a natural for an Indian because we've been living with the federal government for a long time. I find that a lot of the people on the committee are learning things about the federal government that you and I probably learned when we were in grade school — about how it works and how it doesn't work.

There needs to be a maintained Indian voice in NACWEP because issues come up very often that affect us in a different way than they might affect other women. We have many things in common. Like, for instance, enforcing this equity in athletics. But, there also needs to be an Indian presence on NACWEP who will focus on, for instance, BIA schools and say "Get your act together and be more equitable and honest about the way in which you are educating Indian women and girls . . . be more fair and hire professional Indian women as well as dormitory aides who are Indian women." Somebody has to be at the level where policy is being discussed to speak to these issues and to say, "Yes, that's fine, but before you make that move, let's be sure how it is going to affect Indian women. Is it going to help them; is it going to hurt them?"

I think we're all facing, in whatever line of activity we are, changes, cutting off of funds we've been counting on, changes of emphasis in priorities and philosophies. I had one young woman call me just within the last week who had a fellowship, she thought, to graduate school, and had been accepted to four graduate schools and expected to be able to choose which one she would go to. Except that all four wrote her and said, "We are delighted — you are superbly qualified; we admire your dedication

to learn and be able to go back to your own people and put your training to work, but we have no more funds for training. We hope you will come, but we cannot promise you a job, we cannot give you a scholarship, because the federal funds have been cut off." As she put it, she had knocked on some doors and she was so overjoyed when she thought they were being opened except that somebody kicked her in the belly when the door got open. We can't allow that to happen to us and to our young people. We have to put our wits to work here and everywhere we are to sort out the priorities and the ways of doing things and some of you are going to have to come along—my gray hair tells you I can have some time to do this, but I'm not going to be there forever. Somebody has got to be on councils like this who can persist in that ever continuous fight.

It's a joy to come to a meeting like this. It's like the one I attended in the Southwest last spring when we all got together to talk about the strengths of the American Indian family. We had a wonderful time talking to each other because we didn't have to explain things to each other. We didn't have to talk about all of our problems — we could talk about our strengths. We need to talk with each other, to sort out the important priorities, to learn from each other how problems are solved. But we aren't going to get anywhere if we don't explain on the outside (to dominant culture) in words they can understand and help frame the policy that will get us the things we need.

As you go out, look at the geometric patterns that are around Tsa-la-gi Lodge, where many of us are staying, and you will notice that they are all rectangles surrounded by other rectangles. Every once in a while there is one that breaks through the boundaries and links things together. What I'm pleading for you to do, as well as all the other things on your agenda, is to be thinking, whether it's your job or somebody else's job, to come join, not only the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, but in other instances where there is an interface and where the Indian voice needs to be heard. In this particular time, a time of transition, I hope you will find people to do that and to keep that Indian voice being heard and it's in that spirit that the National Council wants to hear from you and to encourage you.

Keynote:
Charting New Directions

Owanah Anderson (*Choctaw*)

Founder and Director, Ohoyo Resource Center; Recipient, Anne Roe Award, Harvard University Graduate School of Education, 1981. Texas resident.

Many years ago, when I was a child, my grandmother used to say to me, "If anyone asks you if you are Indian . . . you tell them no. You tell them you're Choctaw."

Almost 300 of us Indian women are together today, and each of us is keenly aware of our right to be identified as a distinct tribal person. Our right to be identified as a member of a sovereign nation. We each subscribe to that right. But, haven't we now traveled beyond that narrow and constraining requirement to identify ourselves solely as a Choctaw . . . solely as a Pawnee, Menominee, Chippewa, Seneca or Alabama-Coushatta?

As we consider charting new directions — directions to survive against a new national course — must we not first consider the necessity to think of ourselves as one people? We all share a certain commonality — our commonality as the continent's original people. We all share a similar heritage — a proud heritage and a sad one. Time has come when we must recognize that we cannot cope as islands, for we each are part of the main — the main body moving in a rapid and changing course.

A distinct new national course was charted in November, 1980, and as a people economically deprived, by all existing criteria, we Indian people must once again figure out how we are going to survive.

We now have Reagan Administration budget recommendations, and we find Indians bear a disproportionate share of cut-backs. Indian housing recommendations: zero. Yet, we are the most poorly housed of any of the nation's people. CETA programs: in dire jeopardy. Yet, Indians have highest unemployment of any of the nation's people. Education funds: drastic cuts recommended. Yet, we have the dubious distinction of poorest educational attainment

of all this nation's people. Social welfare programs: across-the-board cuts and this will disproportionately impact Indians because we are poorest. In 1980, 19 percent of Indian people needed public assistance compared to 5 percent of the U.S. total. Indian Health Service was solemnly guaranteed in dozens of treaties in exchange for the heart of a continent. Now, we learn that the Administration recommends a $136.9 million IHS reduction. Yet, we are the least healthy of all the nation's people — with the shortest life span, highest infant mortality and most sickness. In brief, we die youngest of all this nation's people.

How do we cope against those odds?

I suggest that we first take stock of the fact that we *are* at the crossroads. We *must* chart new courses. We *must* explore alternatives. We *must* cope with the reality that after half a century the nation has pivoted sharply away from policies to "affect social change." This is reality, and naught can come from lamentations. Too long we have wrung our hands and lamented—lamented loss of our lands, lamented encroachment on our heritage, lamented our physical defeat. And, we women have borne the brutal brunt.

I submit to you three pathways — pathways which can lead us once again through hardships ahead. First, let us examine the roads other minority groups have traveled. Second, let us learn how to impact political power. Third, let us re-examine the scope, the total scope, of the women's movement.

In my state, as in the states of many of you, there is an ever-growing Hispanic population. Our Hispanic sisters also come from diverse backgrounds as do we. The Mexican-American most frequently differs in priorities, goals and thrust from the Puerto Rican; the Chicana differs from the Cuban; the California Hispanic differs from the Texas Hispanic. Yet, from community level to the national level, I have observed that our Hispanic neighbors can generally coalesce and come out eventually in the political arena with a position to positively impact the general Hispanic community. Take, for instance, bilingual education. Two months ago, an Administration policy was announced which would have dismantled bilingual ed. Reaction rippled clear across the Hispanic community; forces went into immediate action; lobbying was leveled from every angle. The most recent word is: bilingual ed. will survive.

Let us learn from the Hispanics. Let us learn how to maintain our tribal distinctiveness but keep it internal, and how to present an external coalition to the common good of us all. How hard this is for us. How deep are our divisions. How long has the U.S. government pitted us one against the other. How conditioned we are to turf-protection. To turn this around we have to begin within our

own selves, our own attitudes. How guilty we are of knocking each other.

I stole this story from a California friend. It illustrates my point so well — and so painfully. An Indian and a White man went fishing together. They were using live crab for bait. The lid on the White man's bait bucket kept coming off — the crabs kept climbing up and pushing the lid off. Finally, the White man had to get a rock and put it on the lid of his bait bucket. Off the lid came again, and the White man had to get a bigger rock to hold down the lid. Finally, he had three or four big rocks stacked on top of his lid. The White man said to the Indian man, "How come you're having no trouble keeping your bait in the bucket?" The Indian man said, "I've got Indian crabs." "What do you mean 'Indian crabs'?" The Indian man replied, "Every time one of my crabs starts climbing up the side of my bucket, the rest of them pull him back down again."

We do this to each other. Let one Indian surface in any sort of visibility — and the rest of us immediately start pot-shotting . . . detracting . . . diminishing . . . criticizing, and before it's all said and done, somebody pops up with the unkindest cut of all: "She (or he) *really* isn't Indian."

Where this all leads is to an awesome fact: we don't have a voice in the political arena, the arena where policy is made, policy that determines our life-style. Policy that determines whether a hospital will be completed, whether a sanitation system will be finished, a school kept open, a scholarship funded. We are politically powerless — yet no people's lives are as inextricably entwined under the federal thumb as are we. We must learn how to participate in shaping policies . . . not merely wail and lament inequities after the fact. We must learn how to act; not merely re-act.

We will remain powerless until we quit cutting each other down . . . until we recognize that what happens to the Crow in Montana does, in fact, impact the Choctaw of Oklahoma . . . until we come to grips with the fact fishing rights in western Washington is an issue about which the land-locked Cherokee of Oklahoma must needfully be concerned.

We will remain powerless until leadership of our national Indian organizations enter into real dialogue with each other. It isn't that we don't have national organizations but it's too infrequently we hear of them coming up with common priorities . . . with a unified voice . . . with a solid position. Let us hope that the coming convocation of our leadership, next month in Washington, may bring a new beginning. This meeting of vast numbers of our leadership is set for early May. I think it significant to point out that the effort is being orchestrated by a woman, our Menominee colleague, Ada Deer.

We will remain powerless until we learn to seize power. Seizing power begins at your own ballot box. Far too many Indians don't vote. Too many of us don't participate — participate in the process of choosing our Congressman or our tribal council. Much emphasis of the conference will be on leadership development and on impacting the political process, and how to impact it from the grassroots up.

So, let us now turn to the much maligned topic of the women's movement. I ask that we re-assess its scope. Let us look at it to determine what is — and what is not — applicable to Indian women. Much has been written about how and why Indian women haven't flocked in droves to join the women's movement. Some say that Indian women are — or were — equal within our own cultures. Some say the women's movement is simply a whim of upper middle class White women. Some say Indian women have been too busy simply surviving to take part in movements, generally. Some have been side-tracked on certain controversial bits and pieces.

I say to you the heart and soul of women's movement is sheer economics. It will continue to be an economic issue for so long as there remain those awful inequities in the pay check. For as long as a woman draws 59¢ for every dollar a man draws. For so long as a woman is the last hired and first fired. For so long as this nation is willing to accept as a matter of course that a woman is automatically worth less at the payroll office simply because she was born female. And, what happens at the payroll office *is* an Indian woman's issue. More than one-third of our women are in the work force and ours remains the lowest median annual income of all the nation's ethnic women. For those working outside the home: $1,695 is a yearly average, according to the latest available statistics. Employer of the greatest number of Indian women is Uncle Sam himself — but our grade levels are way below the national average. Our Indian women who work at BIA are at an average of GS 4; at IHS at an average of 5.19. The overall average at BIA is 7; and at IHS 6.

There's an ever-increasing number of Indian women who work because we have to. We're the head of the family. Our children must be fed and child support can't be counted on. Last summer we heard from Reuben Snake, chairman of Nebraska Winnebagoes, that 67 percent of the households on his reservation were headed by women. The same pattern is emerging in urban areas. It's merely another myth — that the Indian woman sticks to the house and minds the kids. Such is a luxury that fewer and fewer can afford. And, in the spirit of sisterly concern, we must respond to the needs of the Indian woman who is required to play the dual role of wage earner and full-time mother, and is oft ill-prepared for the wage earner role.

During the past three years I served on President Carter's Advisory Committee for Women, and in that capacity I sat in public hearings across the United States. I listened carefully as women in North Carolina, in Florida, and in Denver related their problems. I heard the recommendations — recommendations for federal initiatives to alleviate the problems. I observed there wasn't a great deal of difference between the problems of Indian women and the problems of the rest of the women. Ours were just more so.

The President's Advisory Committee for Women developed a final report and presented it to the President in the Cabinet Room of the White House on December 17 (1980). The report spoke to housing — and Indian people are the poorest housed. The report spoke to child care — and we heard Indian women's testimony across the country on this problem. The report spoke to domestic violence — and this, too, is surfacing as a painful problem for Indian women. The report spoke to women's education needs and opposition to sex discrimination and sex bias and stereotyping in our children's school books. This, truly, is an Indian woman's problem. We're all weary of being depicted solely as squaws, and we're galled that the textbooks of our children, by and large, reveal that no more than two American Indian women have ever graced this continent: Pocahontas and Sacajawea.

I challenge you to look again at the women's movement. To review the blueprint for change. I challenge you to pick out those issues with which you can relate: like employment, like affirmative action, like vocational choices for our Indian girls. Give your support to those you can relate to, that you agree with. Bypass the rest. I did. Link with organizations which have already done the groundwork; you need not reinvent the wheel.

And, remember, too: The Census Bureau has just released figures which inform there's now 1,418,195 of us counted. We grew 71 percent—more than any other ethnic group in the land. I like to say that there's more of us now than any time since the buffalo went: my anthropologist friends like to point out there's more of us now than there's probably ever been. We survived manifest destiny; we survived White men's diseases; we survived the Trail of Tears which was trod by the foremothers of many of us here today. We survived corrupt Indian agents and insensitive White school teachers. We've survived poverty and pestilence and federal bureaucracy.

We not only survived; but we now no longer think of ourselves as a defeated people. Instead, a rejuvenated spirit prevails across the length and breadth of Indian country; a contagious resurgence that combines the best of the old and the best of the new.

We women shall prevail. We shall prevail as Indian women. We'll move together to new horizons. Through coalition building, through participating in the political process, through expending our energies within the political parties of our choice, through getting behind our elected leaders (or, if we can't get behind them . . . get them out). Through linkage with in-place organizations focused on *our* priorities: we will be a force to be reckoned with.

Taking Stock Of Where We've Been . . . And Where We're At

PAST POSITIVES/PRESENT PROBLEMS

Shirley Hill Witt (*Akwesasne Mohawk*)

Director, Rocky Mountain Regional Office, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; Consultantships for UNESCO, USICA, HSS, DOL, OCR; International Lecturer for the State Department; widely published author. Ph.D., Anthropology, University of New Mexico, 1969. Colorado resident.

LIVING IN TWO WORLDS

There is no Native person in North America who is untouched by the Anglo world, the White man's world, the American way. Nor are any of us immune to its infectiousness. Yet few self-identifying American Indians live exclusively in the non-Indian world. To be "Indian" carries for many a sense of homeland (reservation, tribe, community) and duty to one's people, no matter where one currently resides . . . or whether one ever returns . . . or whether those duties are ever discharged. Thus Native peoples are aware of and practice to varying degrees two, often widely contrasting, life-styles. To move between these two worlds can be a feast of appreciation for human ingenuity, or it can be the bitterest trap.

Whether they live in an apartment in Minneapolis or attend the Bureau of Indian Affairs School on the San Juan Pueblo in New Mexico, Indian children typically learn two sets of ways — neither of them perfectly. *No* human knows his or her own culture perfectly, but what one culture has created is certainly learnable by members of another and is limited only by our intelligence and our opportunity to learn. And so, most Native people nowadays grow up with a two-track cultural background and find themselves participating to greater or lesser extent both in the Indian world as defined by their tribal affiliation, and in the White man's world. This term, "The White man's world," by the way, is not to be taken as a quaint archaic phrase: the world of the White *woman* is, for the

most part, invisible to Indians. Even if it weren't invisible, it is irrelevent, since the White *man's* world is the one making an impact upon Indian life and Indian individuals. It is still the Great White Father (sic), who determines the quality of life for Native people as well as all other Americans, male and female.

FROM STRENGTH BEFORE COLUMBUS

As many as 280 distinct aboriginal societies existed in North America prior to Columbus. *Not* suprisingly, some tribes practiced the oppression of women by men. But, in several, the roles of Native women stand in stark contrast to those of Europeans. These societies were matriarchal, matrilineal, and matrilocal — which is to say that women largely controlled family matters, inheritance passed through the female lines and upon marriage the bride usually brought her groom into her mother's household.

In a matrilocal household, all the women were blood relatives and all the males were outsiders. This sort of residence pattern was frequently seen among agricultural societies in which women bore the responsibility for farming while the men went off to do the hunting. It guaranteed a close-knit working force of women who had grown up with each other and with the land.

Although the lives of Native American women differed greatly from tribe to tribe, oftentimes their life-styles exhibited a great deal more independence and security than those of the European women who came to these shores. Indian women, in many cases, had individual freedom within tribal life that women in so-called "advanced" societies were not to experience for generations. Furthermore — and in contrast — Native women *increased* in value in the estimation of their society as they grew older. Their cumulative wisdom was considered one of society's most valuable resources.

NEW NATIVE WOMEN SPEAK: PAST POSITIVES/ PRESENT PROBLEMS

In recent years I have sought out successful Native women to find out how they have achieved their current levels of success in the Indian world, or the Anglo world, or both. I have asked them about how things were for women in their grandmother's lives and in their own. And, finally, I have asked them to tell me about themselves today, about the problems and the victories they have experienced.

What I will be sharing with you for the remainder of my talk will be the words and thoughts of these women, as best as I could capture their ideas on paper.

TRADITIONAL VS. MODERN ROLES

What were the joys and the conflicts between traditional vs. modern roles? Options for women in the past have been limited for *all* cultures, given the reality of women's biology and the limited control women have had over determining pregnancy. Thelma Stiffarm (Gros Ventre/Cree) observed that, "In my mother's generation it was expected that the women would stay home and raise the children. My generation has conflict when remembering how nice it was growing up with my mother always there. I don't know if it was *Indian* culture or *White* culture, since *all* women stayed home then." Rain Parrish (Navajo) said, "Traditionally, every woman should have a child. Females were to give birth, to give life." But Bella McCabe, also a Navajo, feels that whereas not all sheep and goats are good mothers, not all *women* are made to be mothers. There are other important roles for them to play instead. The traditional roles of Native women often extended far beyond the hogan or tipi door. "In my tribe," says Stiffarm, "Indian women were always given the opportunity to do whatever they wanted and were always encouraged to do so. We've always had Indian tribal councilwomen. We had women warriors." McCabe reports that in Navajo life, "It's a woman's land and everything is centered around the woman. If anyone is oppressed, it's the Navajo men." Parrish describes a major transition for Navajo women from owners and controllers of their homesteads and flocks to a modern, less secure way of life. She says, "Traditionally, women's work was in the home. After losing her sheep in the sheep reduction program (in the '30s), she had to go *outside* the home for work. There had to be a whole re-establishment of roles." Speaking about today she observes that, "Often these days the men aren't working and *they* are in the homes. Now the BIA is starting a new sheep reduction program. I think there will *continue* to be a breakdown in the family, a real fragmentation. I don't know who'll come through it." McCabe says, "Indian men recognize the necessity for some wives to work: it's no problem, and anyone who knows how to should handle the money. I do it all in my family. Most of the women in Navajo families handle the money. My grandmother always had her purse with the family money on a string under her skirt."

While the traditional cultures viewed women's roles as primarily being involved in family and household needs, many tribal groups expected women to play key roles in the political and religious areas of Native life. As Stiffarm indicated, some even had women warriors such as those known as the "brave-hearted women" among the Dakota, one reincarnate today being an organization called W.A.R.N. (Women of All Red Nations) to serve the needs of their people. Movement into the Anglo world of work and education is seen as necessary, or an opportunity. It is not *necessar-*

ily seen as a major threat to traditional concepts of women's behavior.

PERCEPTIONS OF ANGLO MEN AND WOMEN

But what are their perceptions of Anglo men and women? The White world into which Indian women foray for training and work is an often hostile, always confusing universe. Connie Uri (Choctaw/Cherokee) is frank about her perception of that world. She says that:

> "Racism has stood in my way in my career. To be female and Indian gives you a double bind. In medical school, the first day of anatomy the teacher told me I wasn't worth teaching and he wouldn't do it. The medical school was segregated, two blacks, two Jews, two women, and we were all put at one end of the laboratory to work on cadavers. The lab assistants had to help us since the teacher refused to."

Rayna Green (Cherokee) sees the *stereotype* as standing in the way. "What needs to be changed in non-Indian culture," she feels, "is the image of Indian women as dupes and drudges and dumb squaws. As they really are, as superstars, is how they *should* be seen." McCabe also recognizes that the dumb-Indian-squaw-drudge stereotype exists:

> "I've served on committees with Anglo groups and it always surprises me that I've always been introduced as an Indian or a Navajo, and then I think people give each other the nod which means, 'There's a dumb person.'"

Green observes that, "In the White world, being *poor* and *female* more than being an *Indian* has been the burden to attaining success." Uri has found the generalized Indian noncompetitiveness as a handicap. Yet, she says, "I've learned to be more aggressive through the years — but I've got a long way to go to catch up with these punks I'm going to law school with." Bernice Moffett (Nez Perce) remarked that, "It is in the Anglo world that I am walking two paces behind men." Stiffarm, when asked what *White males* need to learn about Indian women to make this a better world, responded, "I'd educate them to learn that women, Indian and non-Indian, are *not* a threat: that there are *plenty* of opportunities around and that there are *enough* to go around."

Ramona Bennett (Puyallup) feels that, "White men are paranoid. The White man has built his strength on an imaginary supremacy and knows it. He drinks and pushes and competes and destroys a lot of lives keeping up this supremacy pretense. I should

pray," she said, "that someday they would rest better and feel better. It would be wonderful if they built a higher regard for women of their race and other races. They have a strong anger, fearing someone will get in front of them."

Anne Marr Medicine (Seneca/Mohawk) essentially agrees. She said, "I've had the good fortune of knowing a number of fine White males, but arrogance is the big problem. They're afraid. If we could erase the fear they have of women and other races I think we could go a long way toward solving problems."

Uri expressed sadness over the lack of communication between Indian and White women. She said:

> "I had a lot of hope a few years ago about White women: they were asserting themselves against male dominance and I *thought* they'd look upon Indian women as their sisters. But after Wounded Knee II, talking with White women, I came away with a bad feeling that they couldn't comprehend the needs of the Indian people. Their total ignorance of the problem was bad: they judged Indian people by their own standards. I told some NOW women that it took 200 years for them to get rid of bras which *we* weren't wearing when *they* arrived here."

Mary White Eagle Natani (Winnebago) feels that, "They *try* to relate to Indian women, but because of their own upbringing it's hard for them." She said that, "Their concern with outward things, clothes, etc., needs to be changed."

Bennett expressed this opinion more forcefully:

> "White women, I would hope, would reinstitute the values that they traditionally had. The women of all races have that strong family and community sense, but White women are too competitive. They compare their children to others' children, their heritage to others, their values are based on how jealous others are of them instead of having things to share. Their children are put in little boxes and are raised in isolation. They grow up so alone, so lost, and their boys become very aggressive and girls become gossipy and cloistered and they never get away from that. It affects how they treat us."

Fern Eastman Mathias (Dakota) also sees this insularity. "They aren't thinking about other kinds of women," she observes, "the wide range of women. They're only thinking about their own selves and their own culture. They have life too easy. Put them on the

reservations for a while and see how they do."

Anne Marr Medicine is more optimistic, however. "I'm feeling a little bit better about White women. I'm meeting some very good people. I'm getting an affinity for some and I hope it grows. Even shopping in a supermarket, though, there is so much hostility in South Dakota I just want to shake some of those White women."

Stiffarm, while sympathetic to the women's movement in this country, nonetheless agreed with Uri and feels her priorities lie elsewhere:

> "White women have a mistaken idea that all minorities have the same problems. If I have to choose between an Indian problem or a woman's problem, I'll always choose the Indian problem to work on. Indians have priority for me. There are plenty more *women* attorneys than *Indian* attorneys, *male* or *female*."

OBSTACLES TO SUCCESS

Adequate preparation for life in the Anglo world is a necessity that severely strains the ability of many Indian families. Those who are on the reservations must rely for the most part on the BIA to teach the children skills they will need to know if they leave the economic desert of reservations for greater opportunities elsewhere. But the task is too rarely accomplished in a full and adequate way. "When reservation families move to Phoenix in hopes of finding employment," said Phyllis Bigpond, an Oklahoma Yuchi who is assistant director of Phoenix Indian Center, "It is usually the wife-mother who becomes the wage earner and head of the household. She works for sheer necessity because her husband can't get a job. Some who come to the city go right to work — no problems, no help needed," she said. "But many are completely devoid of city survival skills. They lack job training, transportation, telephones, housing, reading and language skills, child care, food. Talk about frustrated people!"

Grace McCullah (Navajo) feels that:

> "Indian women, in general, are more aggressive than Indian men — certainly more aggressive at finding and holding jobs. When the family comes to the city, *somebody* has to do something. So the mother goes to work. She flat *can't* be intimidated by discrimination. She's got to put the bread on the family table for survival. Tribal roles used to be clearly defined, but with the erosion of tribalism and with sheepherding, for instance, diminished as a way of life, the man has nothing in the con-

temporary sense to replace those strong structural roles. For him, the role is *gone*; for the woman, the role is not so eroded. She can get *some* kind of job, usually, and the job and her children become her discipline and her reinforcement. In the city it's the *women* who deal with the money, the government, the salesmen. Yet in the Anglo-dominated city, the White society says the father should be the primary wage earner and head of the household."

Natani placed blame for her past career difficulties on the shoulders of the educators:

> "What stood in *my* way was a lack of direction early on, people at various schools who tracked me into home economics could have helped me find what I really wanted to do. I went to the mission boarding schools and BIA schools. It took me 15 years of working to find out what I really wanted to do: what to take in school, how to go about it. I was a file clerk for the BIA. I wanted to work with *people* but I didn't know how or who."

Self-consciousness *haunts* Native women when they penetrate new zones or new heights in the Anglo world. McCabe expresses a common exasperation:

> "I'm always seen as being the 'Indian.' Always the *representative*. Especially with ultra-liberals. But I'm not a representative: I only represent *myself* but I guess we're *always* a representative whether we like it or not. I'm conscious of being *watched* a lot. I guess I *am* being an ambassador because I'm educating the non-Navajo people about my people."

Green confesses that, "I don't find myself being schizophrenic except when I'm being pressed to act more 'Indian' by others, usually Anglo. It's also discomforting to be asked to plan for whole Indian groups." Yet she sees one clear advantage. "Being an educated Indian woman who interfaces with the non-Indian world, I am so unique that I *can* have an impact on aiding Indian people to become what they *want* to become." Mathias finds that, "*Male dominance* in organizations has stood in my way. They just don't look at females as leaders. I'm talking about *both* White men and Indian men."

SUCCESS IN TWO WORLDS

When the discussion turns to the lives of the Native women and

their opportunities, what can be the *assessment* and *measure* of one's "success" when it must span two worlds which do not often *mesh* well with one another? Stiffarm counsels us that:

> "You should learn to take the best from both cultures, living an Indian life is a very different way of life. You have to *share* things, you must learn to give away everything you have, to learn not to be materialistic, to be kind, to show deference, to take care of old people, and to treat children with respect as individuals. You have to be very strong to do all those things. Taking the best of the White world is a lot easier than Indian ways."

She then told a story.

> "I had a white shawl that I loved very much. My mother recognized that I was getting too attached to it and made me give it away — to someone I didn't even know. Whites feel that if you *work* for something, you *keep* it. In the Indian world you have to give it away. So when I hear young Indian people say, 'I want to go back to the old way,' I say, 'It's hard: it's hard to be nice to people all the time!' "

She feels that, "Success for an Indian woman today is to learn how to take the best of both worlds. Each culture has good things to learn. For example, the White world has good schools. The Indian world has sharing and caring. A successful Indian woman can put together a good life taking the best from the White world and the Indian world." Bennett sees a successful woman as "a person taking part in the traditional culture but also being involved in the national movement for Indian survival, and being able to function realistically in both cultures."

Natani also recognizes this need for a "two-world" competency for successful functioning. She feels that the successful Indian woman is the one who is able to live in both worlds. It's not degrees or money that make a person a success.

The present-day Indian woman who pursues an education and a career outside the home and "off-res" sometimes has much to contend with. Green observes that, "My having gotten a Ph.D. is not well thought of at all. It is seen as dangerous, threatening, and non-Indian. My status in the non-Indian world, although good, is inherently threatening. It threatens my credibility as an *Indian* person." Stiffarm notes that, "My being an attorney *does not* impress my people. They never ask me how my job is going — they

judge me on how I treat my mother and how I participate in the Sun Dance."

Medicine says, "I've had to make some trade-offs. You can't have an Iroquois longhouse in the middle of the urban area. But in order to do my thing I have to move away from home. I'm caught adrift because I have to move physically farther and farther away."

"I'm sure my reservation sisters think I have achieved success simply because I directed an agency with a $2 million budget — but I am uncomfortable in the role of primary breadwinner for my children and myself. Is it success to struggle — maybe until I die — for our basic comforts? Like the divorced White women around me who are heads of households, I'd like to marry a man who would help support the family, help share the struggle. That, now, would be 'success.'"

But another Navajo, Carol Kirk, has a different view: "For me success will be the day I can return home. I don't think of myself as an urban Indian woman. I regard Phoenix as a necessary stopover, strictly temporary. I get through each day by dreaming of the beautiful tomorrow when I can go home again."

Bennett believes that while "success must be defined as competency in both the Anglo and Indian worlds, the *ultimate* success is to be found at home. As a chairwoman of the Puyallup Nation, there is no greater honor possible. There is nothing better for me later . . . being a governor or a judge or a senator. No other honor or glory could be greater than being honored by my people."

An assessment by Green perhaps best sums up the issues explored here today.

> "A good indicator of success for an Indian woman is when a woman has reached the place where she can work for and with her own people, where she has influence enough to be effective. For some it's educational attainment in the non-Indian world which is very useful, or it can be traditional wisdom in the Indian world. A Ph.D. is not very useful on the reservation. It would be best to get the credentials in *whatever sphere* you operate, to have attained credentials in *both* worlds would be ideal, but the *ultimate* sense of success for me would be *verification* and *validation* in the Indian world."

I fully and firmly believe that to the extent that the world of the Great White Father is willing to open itself to Native Americans, Indian women have a unique vision and contribution to bring to

this nation, now as in the past. As Rain Parrish hopes, it may be that for Native women:

> It is time to ascend to the
> mountain tops
> To begin to chant the
> music of our visions.

Squaw Image Stereotyping

Nancy Butterfield *(Red Lake Chippewa)*

Formerly Assistant Editor, THE INDIAN VOICE, publication of Small Tribes of Western Washington. Authored articles concerning Indian civil rights complaints, Indian women's stereotypes, battered women and women leadership.

The subject that I'm going to be speaking on today, "Squaw Image Stereotyping," is something that was kind of mulling around in my mind for about the last five years and finally, after going through some processes and talking to a lot of other people, I started to put these things down on paper.

In 1976 and 1977 I lived here in Oklahoma, in Shawnee, and was working for Central Tribes of the Shawnee area. At that time I had an opportunity to get acquainted with a lot of really great Indian women around the Shawnee area who were also interested in women's issues. One of the things that we were able to do was pull together a group of Indian women and form the Shawnee Women's Political Caucus. We were affiliated as a chapter with the National Women's Political Caucus. Kaye Warren of the Sac and Fox tribe, who's here today, and also Wanda Peltier, who was wife of the late Potawatomi chairman, Gerald Peltier, were very active in forming the organization. We held a lot of discussions about the status of Indian women today and how that's changed over the years. We

started questioning things like the policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (which are unwritten policies but they still exist) of putting women at the bottom of the career ladder in clerk-typist positions. While there is an Indian preference policy, there is no policy which enables women to ascend the career ladder the same way men do. Another thing we looked at was the practice of Indian Health Service of enabling the non-Indian spouse of a male tribal member to have all and full health care benefits of tribal members, but the non-Indian spouse of a female tribal member gets nothing. So, in other words, a woman who marries outside the tribe is, in the eyes of Indian Health Service, waiving her rights as a tribal member for her family.

In talking about these things I decided to find out more about how we got to where we are now. I talked to a lot of people, I read a lot of articles. The paper that I'm presenting I feel like I really can't take credit for myself. Most of the information I have taken from other sources — from talking to other women, from my own upbringing and just from a number of different places. So, I feel that I have taken all these ideas, these concepts, and set them in writing.

At the time I first wrote the article Wanda Peltier was involved with a newspaper published in Norman called THE SISTER ADVOCATE. If it weren't for Wanda, I probably would never have written this because she kept bugging me and bugging me, saying, "You know, nothing's really ever been written by Indian women about the situation and we really would like to have something." So she gave me a deadline: we're going to press next Wednesday, we need to have something from you to put in there. So, I got everything together that I had gathered from all these sources and put it down on paper. The article was later picked up by OHOYO and reprinted in their newsletter. The response that I had was really surprising. It alerted me to the fact that there is such a hunger among Indian women to read and see and experience more information about ourselves—more positive things about ourselves. Because those images just don't exist in the media.

You all know how Indian women have been portrayed in the media. It has not been a positive image so I hope that in sharing with you today the things that I have gathered from you—from Indian women as a whole—that we can start within our own minds to turn the tide of being a part of that negative self-image. I want to start out with a quote that is an anonymous quote. It's something that's been kicking around for a long time and I'm sure that even if you haven't heard the quote before that it's ring will be familiar. You will have heard the theme before.

> *"Pity the poor squaw, Beast of burden, slave;*
> *Chained under female law from puberty to grave."*

Is that really the way it's been? The anonymous author of these lines displayed a misconception about the lives of Indian women which is not only prevalent in non-Indian society today, but which has also had a destructive influence on the contemporary roles and aspirations of Indian women themselves.

The familiar image of the Indian woman as a sullen drudge who lives out her days in powerless and subordinate existence, is one which was first fostered by White male historians and missionaries, who interpreted what they saw in Indian society from their own framework of male superiority. This image was perpetuated by careless observers and uninformed persons and has made its way intact into the twentieth century. It has had a profound personal effect on the lives of Indian women in the way we are seen by the rest of the world and in the way we see ourselves. Many Indian women of my generation have grown up believing the Hollywood version of male-female relationships among Indian people: that the woman walked three paces behind her man to show deference to him and to acknowledge his superiority. When in actuality, the reason the Indian male preceded the female was to protect her from unexpected danger in the wilderness. It was, as the elders put it, "to make the way safe for her."

The other less common, but every bit as persistent, myth surrounding the American Indian woman is the view of her as a mysterious, wild, untamed, intriguing creature who possessed a kind of unearthly quality. This fairy tale is usually applied only to Indian women who lived in the past, of course, none of us who exist today, and is largely the result of the nineteenth century romanticism of poets and writers. People like Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and the Poem of "Hiawatha," you know, all of those kinds of images. While this vision of Indian women is more appealing, it still prevents us from being acknowledged and taken seriously as full and complete human beings. If there is any doubt that the myth or the desire to identify with it still exists, we need only to consider the numbers of times we have all heard a Caucasian person assert that his or her bloodline is graced by the presence of a Cherokee great-grandmother (who was often also a princess). In reality, most Indian women led neither inferior nor privileged existence, but were an important and integral part of the life and direction of the tribe. Many of the largest and most highly developed Indian tribes were matrilineal societies; women of these tribes were the Iroquois and Delaware in the east, the Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole in the south, the Pawnee, Otoe, Missouri and Crow in the Great Plains and the Navajo and the numerous Pueblo tribes in the southwest.

In matrilineal societies, membership in the tribe or clan, ownership and inheritance of property, or hereditary right to public

office, developed through the female line.

With regard to the tribe's property, weapons and ceremonial articles usually belonged to men, but instruments for cultivating the soil, preparing foods, cleaning skins, making clothes and tipis and other household articles belonged to women. A woman could build and own a house and in most tribes the dwelling in which a family lived belonged to the mother.

In most tribes the woman could under no conditions be deprived of her belongings by her husband, even if their marriage was dissolved. Divorce was a simple matter which could be initiated either by the wife or the husband. In tribes where women owned the home and its contents the woman could divorce her husband by placing his belongings outside the door and he had no choice but to comply. Following such a divorce, the man or woman was free to remarry.

In her book, FOUNDING MOTHERS, written about colonial women, Linda Grant DePaw states that Indian women at that time had a greater economic, social and political status than their White counterparts in colonial society. The mothers of the tribe often had the final say when the warrior's council disagreed and they could stop the tribe from going to war by refusing to provide trail rations and moccasins. They also had the final say in the fate of captives taken during war in many tribes. Native American women were also less economically dependent on their husbands. The economic security of the tribe, important male relatives to help the woman if something happened to her husband, and the freedom to divorce, helped the Indian woman to maintain a strong and independent status.

Going back into history to the different tribal stories of creation, women played key roles. Joan LaFrance, who is a Chippewa tribal member, and is with the Seattle American Friends Service Committee office, has written that "the female person is usually the primary force in the creation of the living world. Earth Mother brings forth life. She often works along with male forces, but according to the creation myths, she is never inferior to male forces and often she appears as the strongest force." This is a sharp contrast to the Christian story of creation, where the creating force is given a male identity and creates woman from man. Indian women need not struggle with the question of whether God is male or female. Indian women and the female image have always been a part of the creation.

Within traditional religious ceremonies and healing rituals, Indian women still have major roles. However, so much of the operation of tribes today has been drastically altered and influenced by the domination of European political and social systems,

that in areas relating to employment and education, even within her own tribe, an Indian woman faces the same obstacles and difficulties confronted by non-Indian women. The structure of Indian economic and social service programs, most of which are federally funded and often developed by non-Indian planners, is based on the usual vertical hierarchy of responsibility, which exists in all other American corporations and institutions, with executives at the top who are always male and secretaries and clerk/typists at the bottom who are always female. This is in direct contrast to the way in which tribes historically functioned, with authority and responsibility shared cooperatively and with individual roles and positions of authority often determined by age rather than by sex. The composition of the Bureau of Indian Affairs demonstrates clearly that Indian women have in some areas been deprived of their traditional equal status. Even with its recently professed commitment to Indian self-determination and preference given to Indian people for employment, BIA executive and supervisory personnel are overwhelmingly male with most female employees at the bottom of the ladder in clerical jobs.

Indian Affairs Commissioner, William Hallett, has recently issued a directive to superintendents of Bureau of Indian Affairs Area offices directing that affirmative action programs intent on bringing more Indian women into executive level jobs be implemented. This is too new to see any results yet but we're all watching.

Though the life of a Native American woman has changed with the necessity to survive in today's technological society, and though some of her important roles have been misplaced in this transition, she will always exist as the center of her family, the strength of her tribe, and as life-bringer and sustainer of her people. These qualities, along with her unwaivering spirit of determination, equip her to face the contemporary challenges of health care, employment and educational needs of her people and to insure for her an important part in their solution.

Status Of Indian Women In Federal Employment

Mary Natani (*Winnebago*)

President, North American Indian Women's Association; Chair, Federal Interagency Task Force on Indian Women; Member, U.S. Delegation to Mid-Decade Conference held in Copenhagen, 1980; Equal Opportunity Specialist, Women's Bureau, Department of Labor. Washington, D.C. resident.

I've had a real concern about the situation of Indian people and especially since we depend, to a large extent, on federal programs. I often wonder why, though we get these programs every year, nothing really comes of them. It seems that by now, with all of the training programs and all the employment programs, there should have been some substantial improvements in our communities. That doesn't seem to be the case.

I've been with the Women's Bureau since 1970. My early years with the Women's Bureau involved educating the staff about working with Indian people and that took quite some time. In 1976 we decided to call together representatives of federal agencies that have major program responsibilities for Indian people — BIA, IHS, HUD, OIE, LEA and all the others. We had them answer two questions: (1) How their programs impact on the lives of Indian women, and (2) Their staffing patterns: how many Indian women were on their various staffs and at what levels. To the first question all of the agency representatives responded that the programs that were intended for Indian people were available for all the Indian community and there was no discrimination as to whether they were meant for Indian men or Indian women. And, they felt that Indian women were being serviced equally. To the second question they said the usual thing: "We can't find any qualified Indian women; otherwise, we'd hire them." We decided that was not a good enough answer and we thought the next best thing to do would be to call Indian women to Washington and let them respond to these responses.

In 1977, we invited 23 Indian women who were running programs to Washington to discuss federal programs. It was felt by a

majority of these Indian women that the federal programs were not as effective as they could be. There were still the problems of training programs which were pushing women into very low-paying jobs like a nurse's aide, teacher's aide, and those kinds of jobs. And, they were the first to be fired when there was a reduction in programs. The bottom line of all this was that if federal programs were not effective, why were they not effective as far as the needs of Indian women were concerned? It occurred to us that one of the reasons no programs were answering the needs of Indian women was because there were no Indian women at the decision-making levels in the federal system.

The NAIWA chapters in Maryland and Washington, D.C., which had been supporting these meetings, asked the Women's Bureau if they would have a conference of the federally-employed Indian women in the D.C. area. That we did in 1978. Right from the start we were threatened. Some of the union people told us we had to be very careful in how we advertised the conference because if we said it was just for Indian women, we were going to be subject to suit. We tried to get administrative leave for the Indian women in IHS and BIA. That was quite a task. We had to pull strings in order to get administrative leave for the Indian women in BIA. And even after we got administrative leave, a lot of them didn't feel free to come because they were afraid of retaliation. However, we had about 100 Indian women come to that first conference. In your packets you have a copy of the report which was published, NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY: HOW TO GET AHEAD IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. I was glad to see Shirley Hill Witt here — she was the keynoter. In the back of the book are twelve recommendations that came out of that conference. Presently we are following through on those recommendations.

One issue which surfaced at this 1978 conference was that Indian women were operating in a vacuum. We have EEO programs, the Federal Women's Program, which is supposed to be doing something about the situation of women in the federal system. But when you look at Indian Health Service and Bureau of Indian Affairs, where we have Indian preference, that's the opposite of EEO (Equal Employment Opportunity). And yet, if EEO can't work in the Bureau and they're not enforcing Indian preference, what do Indian women do? There's no grievance procedure. Do we give up and say, "Well, we can't do anything about it. If EEO is not going to work and if the FWP is useless in both agencies and there's no mechanism for implementing and enforcing Indian preference, then there's really nothing."

But the law is the law. So we decided that there has to be some mechanism to enforce Indian preference. As most of you know,

Indian preference also exists in Section 7B of PL96-638, the Indian Self-Determination Act. It also exists in Indian Health Care Improvement Act. And 638 contracts and grants made by other federal agencies have to give preference to Indians. But even for 7B of 638 there is no mechanism to enforce Indian preference.

The Interagency Task Force on American Indian women, which I chair, is not a formal task force. The Women's Bureau set up the task force and since nobody is concerning themselves with the status of Indian women in the federal system, it is supporting the program to do something. So we strategized and decided that the only way to get anything done would be to meet with top level people at Interior and HHS and we've been doing that since 1978. It's been a very long, hopeless looking effort. We haven't accomplished very much at Interior because there's been a great deal of change-over in the staff. However, in the HHS, the Department has set up an Indian Employment Committee to follow through on the recommendations that came out of the 1978 conference. And we found that one of the drawbacks to the whole Indian preference area was the lack of information, lack of knowledge among our own Indian people, whether you're out here worrying about 7B or whether you're working for the government, worrying about section 12, Indian preference.

So, we decided that there needs to be, in one place, all of the solicitor's opinions, all of the court decisions, all of the laws which are the basis for Indian preference. The Administration for Native Americans, which contracts with the Native American Rights Fund, has arranged with NARF to hire Karl Funke, who is known as one of the leading experts on Indian preference, to draft a handbook on Indian preference. Our task force came up with an outline of what we would like to see in this handbook — something that will be factual and informative. Some of the ingredients that will be going into this handbook are in your packets in draft form.

Another problem is that Indian preference is talked about like it was just one isolated item. But, Indian preference ties in with treaty rights and sovereignty. In the recent case of Morton vs. Mancari, that's the one where Indian Health Service said that Indian preference does not apply to IHS. The court in describing Indian preference said that the purpose of Indian preference was "... to give Indians a greater participation in their own self-government; to further the government's trust obligation toward the Indian tribes; and to reduce the negative effect of having non-Indians administer matters that affect Indian tribal life." The outline references all the major court decisions regarding tribal sovereignty, the establishment of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and statutes dating back from 1834, which give preference to Indians. So, it's not a recent thing. It dates way back to 1834.

I can't report any progress we've made since Shirley Witt came and told us, in 1978, that Indian women in federal employment held a GS 4.88 level on the average. Most of our efforts have been to try to change policy and to set up a mechanism within those agencies (BIA, IHS) so that Indian women would have some way to improve their own situation. Generally, there has been no movement of Indian women to higher paying positions in either agency. One of my favorite publications by the Bureau is the INDIAN RECORD, dated April 1979. This special issue is "Senior Executives Conference-Albuquerque." The pamphlet revealed that all of these senior executives are men, except for one Shirley Plume, superintendent of Standing Rock Agency, the lone woman in this whole book. That has not changed.

So, I guess what I'm saying is, if we're going to continue to have the Bureau and we're going to continue to depend on services that the Bureau is supposed to provide for us, and if we expect them to be meaningful to our people, I think that those of us who work for the federal agencies and those of you who hope to work for the federal government at some point, need to do something. Everybody's talking about "doing things for ourselves." While we've been working at the policy level through the task force, trying to get policies changed and some mechanism put in place, what is lacking are those Indian women in lower paying jobs being able to get together and speak up. But we should not limit ourselves to opportunities in the Bureau and in IHS because there are only a certain number of jobs there. We need to be in other agencies. Out of 17.5 thousand Indians in federal employment at the time we had the 1978 conference, only 4,000 of us were working outside of BIA and Indian Health Service. We need to take advantage of programs that are being offered by other agencies. But until we inform ourselves on what our own rights are and inform ourselves on how we can improve our own situation and go after training and educational opportunities, it's going to be very difficult. It's real difficult right now for us to try to do anything about our own situation, but I think we'll do it. I don't think we're going to let this kind of situation stay the way it is. I really have a lot of hope. I think that we're on the right track and we're still going to keep going until we accomplish something.

Dependable Direction Finders

CROSS-CULTURAL NETWORKING

Ruth Dial Woods (*Lumbee*)

Director, Indian Education, Robeson County (N.C.) Board of Education; leadership to Equal Rights Amendment efforts in state; Co-chair, North Carolina IWY delegation to Houston Women's Conference.

Regardless of where we live, we are no longer isolated cultures because science and technology have effectively seen to that. As much as we work for the goal of self-sufficiency, modern society and today's culture will never again allow us to become isolated peoples and isolated communities. Regardless of the extent to which we practice tribalism and traditionalism, there are few American Indians today who do not walk between two worlds. Although many Indian teachers have now become available, they have been exposed to the other cultures, to other curriculum, and to the impact of television and books which perpetuate the myth of the melting pot. Church ministries in recent years have developed a new social conscience which leads and guides us toward global ministries and our responsibilities to the world's peoples. While Indian employment has increased in business as well as in BIA agencies, in tribal programs, and in the American workplace, most of our interaction takes place with non-Indian minds and mentalities.

It has only been in recent years that we as Indian people have been willing to accept our own Indian leadership and that we have accepted the fact that we can successfully manage our own affairs. If we look no later than the early 1960s, there were few Indian tribal planners and even less Indian directors of community-based programs across the country. In our daily lives, few of us make loans from Indian-owned businesses and Indian loan companies. We pay our bills to non-Indian power companies, we conduct our banking at non-Indian banks, and we work in non-Indian businesses and industries. And, more often than not, we work for

non-Indian bosses. And while we live in our Indian communities, we spend most of our time outside of that community. The list could go on and on and on, but the point is that the majority of us today exist in a cross-cultural society.

Some of us have been born and reared between those two worlds; others of us have made the transition. The challenge and the task to us as Indian people, and particularly to American Indian women, because of the time-honored responsibilities placed upon us for guiding our children, is to seek the best of these two worlds in which we walk by using the wisdom of our grandfathers and our grandmothers and combining our newfound knowledge, skills and abilities for moving our generation and the generations who will follow, onward and upward in the ever-changing society.

We have successfully demonstrated that we can walk between two worlds. We have survived, and in the last few years, we have built networks which have brought us closer together and which have helped us to overcome the results of many of the federal policies which separated and isolated us from each other. We talk about our dependency on other institutions and other agencies, and particularly our federal relationships. We have to recognize that dependency is not a sign of weakness. What is wrong with these relationships is that we have not sufficiently seized the opportunities to learn from these relationships and the potential opportunity for the power that we can develop to make these systems become our system and to make them more responsive to us. For that is the way in which we shall gain that opportunity and the control of those systems and thereby ensure self-determination. But at the same time that we are working to protect that which we already have, we must allow for individual growth and development as well as the growth and development of our Indian people.

I think that for too long we have expected opportunity to be brought to us. It is now time from us to assert ourselves. Assertiveness costs money — costs time, and costs energy. To those of you who come from rural communities as I do, it means driving 150 to 200 miles into an urban setting because it seems that everything takes place and happens around the cities. Unfortunately, this occurs at our expense. It takes away from us the valuable time that those of us who work have left to spend with our families. It also calls upon us to go through the stress and strain of all too often being the token Indian representative in addition to all of the other stress that is involved in making the transition. It behooves those of us who have been involved over the recent years to provide successful role modeling and effective mentor relationships to other young Indian women, as well as to young Indian men. We must remember that we do not exist only as women — men are very

much a part of our lives, and it has been said by others that, "there is no organization of American Indian women without the organization of American Indian men." We have to do that if we intend to develop Indian leadership. If we continue to let the same faces and the same people appear time and time again, we have only confined our leadership — we have not developed our leadership.

The other thing we need to look at is what it is we do at the local level — what we do in our own communities. Are we satisfied with taking those issues that are hitting us over the head, or are we doing some real strong planning — some long-range planning? Where do we go beyond our communities? How do we hook up our networks that we already have to mesh them with state, regional and national networks? There are commonalities among networks. While it is our responsibility to pursue our own special interests, we should also mobilize the resources of other groups and other people who have mutual concerns, interests and resources. That is exactly the way the larger society works — by force, by numbers, and by the loudest voice. We need to keep our efforts issue-oriented, but at the same time consider the commonalities in issues. Housing, child care, employment, education, health care, and legislation, are all issues and concerns which cross cultural barriers.

Cross-cultural networking focuses on our special interests, but at the same time it calls upon the forces of the predominant culture to engage in our issues. In North Carolina, we have established a statewide consortium of Title IV Indian Education projects. We now have an avenue that we can address issues without jeopardizing those resources that we already have in our public schools. The consortium represents 25 Title IV projects across the state and it represents Indian parents, Indian educators, and Indian students who serve on Title IV Advisory Committees. To the structure it represents numbers, cooperation, crossing tribal lines, and crossing geographical locations. It has been effective, so effective that someone has questioned why we need state representatives involved in education in North Carolina. Furthermore, it gets the job done because it isn't a project director or coordinator talking, rather, it is issue oriented. It isn't a matter of saving project funds for one particular tribe or one particular school district. Just as we have done in North Carolina, there have been other consortia and other organizations formed in many states across the nation. From such organizations has been birthed the urban and rural non-reservation caucus, a network of some 15 states and some 300 projects to serve the interests of the 80 percent of Indian students who attend public schools. We have established a national network that goes beyond our state, beyond our region, and across the nation, including Alaska. It is a very informal network and there is

no one person at the helm. The network builds upon the resources of information that are obtained from other organizations and networks involved in Indian education. It is a network that is not something that has to have quarterly meetings or yearly meetings; it can just as well be handled by telephone or by mail.

It is my personal philosophy that informal and unstructured networks can be more effective. For example, some three years ago in North Carolina, the state legislature repealed all state legislation in the general statutes related to Indians. Supposedly, the purpose of this action was to transfer the North Carolina State Commission on Indian Affairs from an autonomous agency to a state agency status. It took us a year and a half to decide whether or not we wanted the legislation reinstated, and once we did decide that for Indian people who had no special trust relationship with the federal government and had to depend upon state relationships, that the legislation should be reinstated, it was not Indian people who won the reinstatement. We amassed an effort across the state with each and every individual who had some contact with men, women, organizations, civil rights groups, professional groups, women's groups, and whatever we could tap. State legislators started receiving telephone calls and letters from their own constituents which did not even have Indian populations. We called upon friends, our co-workers, and all the resources we could identify and muster, and as a result, the legislation was reinstated by a vote of 50-0. This was definitely an Indian issue, but it called into play the resources of both Indian and non-Indian people.

As I said earlier, the role of Indian women is well-founded in our traditions and time-honored customs. The labeling of "carriers of the culture" is appropriate. We must now accept those changes demanded of us in expanding our roles and responsibilities. We have successfully demonstrated our ability to ensure that the culture survives, and while we have a long way to go in terms of becoming economically independent, women can take greater risks than men and we have to start doing just that. It's extremely difficult for men who have been cast by the dominant society as the "breadwinner" to take such risks. We have also experienced problems with our own stereotyping of our men as being non-vocal and non-advocates on issues which affect our communities. Women can be active and effective, and so, I think, we have to accept that responsibility. In doing this, it does not mean that we look at our men any less or that we hold them in lower esteem. Rather, it means that we are fulfilling a role which we can do better than they can and under different circumstances.

We have to seize all of the opportunities and resources at our disposal. Again, in rural communities our churches are prime sources for organizing women and focusing on issues through wo-

men's societies and organizations. What we must do is realize that every organization and every network does not necessarily have to be structured. The organizational patterns of president, vice president, secretary and treasurer or chairperson and vice chairperson are not necessary to the success of either a network or an effort. What is needed in developing networks is caution to avoid barriers which result in failure of the network. First of all, we must accept the fact that cross-cultural networking is both necessary and effective. It is particularly necessary for us as Indian people because we have so few Indian people in positions of decision-making who can influence change.

In view of the changes, not only in society but in many of those agencies upon which we depend, cross-cultural networking becomes a way for us to continue survival. It is also a process whereby we protect what is ours as well as get what is best for us out of all resources. Some of the cautions we need to exercise as we develop networks, and as we continue to strengthen the networks which we already have, is to look at some of the weaknesses in our networks.

Too often our networks are built upon friendships and status. We have a tendency to network with those with whom we share close friendship and who have similar status. In developing networks, we must look at exactly what we expect the network to achieve; we must identify those individuals who we can bring into the network with the highest level of expertise and skills and include both Indian and non-Indian. When we develop in this manner, we have an opportunity to observe more, to look closer, and to pick up the skills which we do not possess.

A second caution is to consider the type of information which we want to transmit through networks. First of all, we need complete information and secondly, we need specific information directly related to a particular issue. Without consideration of these two factors, networks become overloaded and provide too many issues at the same time. A result of network overloading is lack of action and an ineffective network.

One final caution concerns those individuals who manage networks. Research has shown that the people who transmit information through networks often rise in stature while the people who receive the information have a tendency to fall by the wayside. I would hope that as Indian women build networks we would ensure that this is avoided. The story about the Indian crab bucket and the White crab bucket is relevant for us and we should ensure that our networks are developed and designed to uplift Indian people rather than to jointly pull them down.

Networks can help us or they can hurt us. I hope that as we develop networks we will allow more meaningful involvement and

quality participation with the people in the network so that we can avoid that pitfall of *confining leadership rather than developing leadership*. And before we can go too far with cross-cultural networking, we must look into the mirrors of ourselves. We have some homework yet to be done. We, as Indian people, must learn to cross the barriers of age, class, tribal affiliation, status and territoriality. Until we can effectively resolve these issues which pit and divide Indian people across this country, we will be totally ineffective in impacting networks for either Indians or with cross-cultural networking.

In summary, we cannot expect opportunity to come to us. We must commit our time, our already limited resources, and our effort. We must exert the initiative and identify the potential resources and the potential leadership. If we are to take control of our lives, then we must do the planning with a commitment to each other and with a collective purpose for each other. When we can accomplish this task, our goal will be in keeping with our values of self-actualization and self-determination.

As American Indian women, this is our task — it is our continuing responsibility, and it is our challenge for the survival of our American Indian people.

Equal Rights Amendment: How Does It Relate To Indians?

Ethel Krepps *(Kiowa/Miami)*

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Equality of Rights Under the Law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

This is the proposed 27th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. And to quote Erma Bombeck, "No words have been so misunderstood since 'one size fits all'."

BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE ERA:

I want to share a brief overview of the ERA with you. This brief historical account of the ERA was taken from the 1975 Report of the Interdepartmental Task Force for International Women's Year. That report states that ERA was a natural outgrowth of the struggle for the women's suffrage amendment which was adopted in 1920. For 72 years women's efforts were directed at trying to get women's voting rights implemented on a state-by-state basis. This struggle demonstrates the impossibility of trying to gain equal rights for women utilizing a step-by-step approach. It is, therefore, evident that an overall Constitutional amendment ensuring women equality of rights under the law throughout this nation is necessary. Back in the year 1923, a lady by the name of Alice Paul, a member of the National Women's Party, wrote the Equal Rights Amendment. The 24 words which I quoted to you. The ERA was subsequently introduced in Congress and finally, on October 12, 1971, the ERA was voted and passed in the House of Representatives by a vote of 354 to 23. The Senate vote, March 22, 1972, was 84-4.

Within hours of the final senate vote, Hawaii became the first state to ratify the Amendment. Twenty-one additional states

ratified in 1972, with eight the following year (1973). Then three more states in 1974. Only one, North Dakota, was ratified in 1975, and in 1977 Indiana became the 35th state to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. The 95th Congress extended the deadline for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to June 30, 1982. Thirty-five of the necessary thirty-eight states have ratified. Those states not yet ratified are: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Utah and Virginia. Three of these states just named must ratify the ERA by the June 30, 1982 deadline if it is to become an amendment to the Constitution. Two states have attempted to rescind their ratification. Idaho rescinded by a vote of both Houses of the Legislature, declaring that state's ratification revoked. Another state, South Dakota, passed a null and void bill. However, an opinion issued by the Justice Department in February 1979, declared that both "rescission" and "null and void" resolutions are held to be unconstitutional.

ISSUES OF ERA:

Let's discuss the basic issues which ERA is all about. The basic intents of ERA are these:

- ERA will ensure that all states and the federal government review and revise any laws or practice to eliminate discrimination on the basis of sex.
- ERA will ensure that discrimination laws are not enacted in the future.
- ERA will enforce the principle that the homemaker's role in the marriage contract is given full economic value and full partnership status under the law.
- ERA will ensure equal opportunity, privileges and benefits in all aspects of government employment.
- ERA will ensure equality of opportunity in public schools and colleges; in "manpower" training programs of all federal, state and local governments, and in governmental recreational programs.
- ERA will ensure that the families of women workers receive the same benefits as families of men workers under the social security laws and under pension plans run by the government at any level, and also under worker's compensation laws.
- ERA will ensure that married women can engage in business as freely as married men and that they can dispose of separate or community property on the same basis as married men.
- ERA will require that married women be permitted to maintain a separate legal domicile from their husband's domicile.

- ERA will require that women prisoners be given the same opportunities and privileges as men prisoners and that sentences be arrived at and administered under the same law for both sexes.

While it is true that both Congress and state legislatures have passed specific laws prohibiting discrimination against women in the areas of employment, credit and education, there has to be a Constitutional guarantee of equality or legislatures, both federal and state, will be free to revoke these laws they have passed. It is also true that most employment practices are already provided for under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Another factor to consider with the passage of ERA will be within the judicial system — judges will be able to look at cases involving Fifth and Fourteenth Amendment cases which now only apply to race and religion. Women have attempted to use the Fourteenth Amendment to gain equality with men. That Amendment which prohibits any state action which denies to any person "the equal protection of the laws" was aimed at preventing states from passing laws against Blacks after the Civil War. Now the Supreme Court refuses to consider the status of women (sex) as it considers the status of race and religion. However, with the passage of the ERA "sex" status would become a suspect category for discrimination.

Basically the intent of ERA is simply stated: passage of ERA requires that the federal government, and all state and local governments, treat each person, male or female, as an individual. The amendment applies only to governmental action and it does not affect private actions or purely social relationships between men and women. Confusion about the difference between Right of Equality and Right of Privacy must be defined. The Right of Privacy is in no way affected by the Right of Equality. Private relationships and family matters remain protected by the Right of Privacy. Community privacy standards would also be protected. The laws would continue to permit separation of the sexes in such matters as public restrooms, sleeping quarters in public institutions, etc. Other laws that deal with physical characteristics or physical attributes of one sex or the other would not be prohibited as such laws could not by their very nature deny equal rights to the opposite sex.

Evidence shows that in those states that have passed their own Equal Rights Amendments women's experiences have all been positive. For example, Pennsylvania has an equal rights provision, and women there are now in a stronger position, particularly in the area of domestic relations, as a result. As to child custody and child support, in the state of Washington, Dan Evans, former

Washington Governor, states: "I am aware of no classification privileges that a woman has lost because of adoption of the ERA . . . adoption of ERA and the implementation dissolution law merely make it clear that either spouse may sue for support. A woman has not lost her right to be supported by her husband; rather, she never had such a right. Support within marriage has been a matter of custom and has never been guaranteed by law. Child support and child custody would be determined on the individual parent capabilities rather than on the basis of sex."

The passage of Equal Rights Amendment would be commitment to the right of equal treatment for all citizens.

THE ERA AND INDIAN WOMEN:

Indian women hold a unique position in relation to ERA because Indian women have two unique relationships which other non-Indian women do not have. Indian women are citizens of their respective states, as are other non-Indian women; however, they are also members of their respective tribes and they also have a trust responsibility or a guardian-ward relationship with the federal government. What is the legal consequence of ERA on Indian women? As members of tribes, Indian womens' lives are actually controlled by a three-tier governmental system. Her tribe has the authority to pass laws which would govern her actions. This power to pass laws by tribal governments comes from the inherent ability of tribal people to govern themselves. The ERA will have absolutely no effect on the ability of her tribe to pass laws and govern its own tribal members. The areas where ERA could affect the Indian woman is in the area where the federal government has a special relationship with Indian people. This is in the area of employment. The term "Indian preference" means that if two people apply for the job, everything else being equal, except that one of the applicants is Indian and the other non-Indian, the Indian applicant will get the job. Indian preference is practiced in two institutions that deal with Indian people. The IHS and the BIA. Passage of the ERA would mean a stricter enforcement of equality of the sexes in these two federal agencies. Indian preference would be applied evenly to Indian men and Indian women alike. ERA would have no other effect on Indian preference.

The effect of ERA on tribal judicial systems would be nil. The Supreme Court has already determined in the Martinez decision that any alleged violations of the 1968 Indian Civil Rights Act must be heard and decided only in the tribal court. The Martinez decision is often misunderstood because the case began as an attempt by Mrs. Martinez to use the equal protection clause of the Indian Civil Rights Act to invalidate her tribal enrollment procedure which she contended discriminated against women. The Su-

preme Court didn't reach that issue, however, as they decided Indian tribes could not be sued in federal court under the Indian Civil Rights Act in the first place.

Educational Equity — It *Can* Make A Difference

Leslie R. Wolfe

Director, Women's Educational Equity Act Program, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, D.C. Ph.D., English, University of Florida, 1970.

I feel very honored and pleased to be here — the only person listed on the agenda who does not have "parentheses" and tribal affiliation after her name. Ada Deer describes me as a member of the "lost tribe"; I must tell you something I had forgotten until Ada said that. In 1974, I called Shirley Hill Witt in her office at Colorado College. I said, "May I speak to Dr. Witt?" A male voice said, "She's not in, may I take a message?" I said, "This is Leslie Wolfe." He said, "Oh, are you a Mohawk?" I said, "No, Jewish." He was stunned.

I think what I would like to mention about stereotypes is something positive — we have here some of our current images of the brave-hearted women and the future of Indian women; you are the role models for the next generation. We have Ada Deer, the woman warrior who defeated the mugger on the streets of Washington, D.C.; I hope he has repented of his evil ways. You have some wonderful scholars, activists, lawyers, medical personnel; this is a very distinguished and exciting group.

This morning as Shirley Witt talked she said something that taught me something new, as she always does. When she started talking about our responsibility to the next seven generations I started thinking, "What are we doing now?" And I started looking back to what we have been doing and thought about what we still must do.

I think it is important and cathartic to go through a depression

about the apparent shift in attitude of the American people. I think we all knew that we would face opposition to many of the changes which we have pressed for in the past fifteen years, particularly in the status of women. But we did not expect a "backlash." So, I think it is useful to be a bit depressed and confused. But then we are cheered at gatherings such as this one, at the persistence of the brave-hearted women; then we become angry at the thought that our hard won rights will be threatened, that women's selfhood, freedom and equality will be attacked.

Throughout this day, as I have watched all of you, I have been thinking about where Ohoyo has been, how it started and grew, and where it is going. I remember that this kind of gathering had not happened before, that three years ago it was just a thought, a vision; then it was written, typed, mailed, and lo and behold, the Ohoyo Center and this "network," this sisterhood of women, became this strong, living entity. It has been created and nurtured by all of us, and it will not die. And that is a very powerful thing.

Indian women have been brought together through these Ohoyo conferences; I remember the first one in New Mexico — an exhilarating experience for all of us. Indian women who might never have met each other now are friends and colleagues because of Ohoyo. It has broken the isolation that we didn't even recognize. Haven't you all met women here whom you will never stop seeing? And won't we all be able to band together to fight for what we need and what we are and for survival?

As a "direction finder," I feel I must say something about what educational equity is. I can give you a concrete, immediate example. I have just been to the Cherokee Museum; we looked at all the pictures of the women participating in education at every level and I said to myself that I would feel almost as if my job were finished if we could convey to the leaders of the dominant American culture the essence of the traditional, pre-contamination Cherokee commitment to educating women and men, girls and boys. If we could somehow restore some of the traditional ways, some of the matriarchal valuing of women, we would achieve a certain kind of educational equity that we have never had in this country.

Education is one of the beginning places. We send our children to school and they learn that if they are female, if they are Indian, if they are Black, if they are Hispanic, if they are Asian, if they are Jewish, they are inferior. They learn that they do not really belong. They look in their little books and they see blonde people with blue eyes and they cannot identify with these "models." They also see that, as female children, they are not expected to do very much. They are supposed to be quiet and watch boys being active. This has a powerful negative influence on every single child and we

know that we must struggle to change that; and that is what we have been doing and what we must continue to do.

You will have to work very hard at the local level, to let your school boards and textbook selection committees know what you want for your children. The federal government will no longer be as strong a force for social change. But you will continue as leaders in trying to eliminate patriarchal laws and attitudes and all vestiges of bias and stereotyping based on sex and race. So I think we must stop awhile, again, and think about why there is so much hostility, even hatred, focused on all these efforts to just ensure simple freedom and equality for all women. I do think we have to look squarely at the enemies of change, to understand that freedom for women means the end of the status quo which restricts women to a few, subordinate roles.

Women will not turn back and will not let it happen to our sisters and daughters and granddaughters.

I would like to speak briefly about the importance of coalition building. For all of us, particularly majority women in the feminist movement, coalition building means spending a lot of time learning about other people, other cultures, other ideas and ways of living. We must all do our homework and learn the wisdom and beauty of other ways. We must strive for unity in diversity. We do not believe in the melting pot; we never did, because we were the ones who were expected to melt and we always knew that was destruction. If we think in these terms we can unite with diverse groups to achieve the same goals.

And at this point I think we know very clearly that our goals are the same. We are fighting against racism and sexism, threats to tribal sovereignty and destruction of our Native languages. We are fighting poverty, which has as its basic cause various forms of discrimination, and we are fighting every form of bias and stereotyping which oppresses women and minority people. We cannot sacrifice one group for another, one goal for another, one program for another.

Even though none of us has the strength to fight every battle, we must avoid any efforts to divide and splinter us. We must be united and, thereby, strong. We are all survivors. All of us in this room are survivors. We can all tell our stories — personal ones, cultural ones, historical ones — and in many cases, in most cases, we are all survivors of attempts at basic, simple genocide. So it seems to me that we cannot be destroyed; we are invincible and we will prevail.

So you see that I must end on an optimistic note. Susan B. Anthony, one of our foremothers, said — in the darkest days of the struggle for the vote — "Failure is impossible." That is the motto I would leave you.

Traditional Cherokee Supper

Mary Natani *(Winnebago), Presiding*

President, North American Indian Women's Association; Chair, Federal Interagency Task Force on Indian Women; Member, U.S. Delegation to Mid-Decade Conference held in Copenhagen, 1980; Equal Opportunity Specialist, Women's Bureau, Department of Labor. Washington, D.C. resident.

NATANI: All day today we've been hearing about Indian women needing to assert themselves and be heard, and I'm sure you're as amazed as I am to see so much talent, so much leadership developing. You just have to present the opportunity for these things to take place. They say there's a time and place for everything. Our Indian people, I guess I have to speak for myself, but when I was growing up I was told that nothing happens by chance. We talk about the circle of life. We were taught that life begins at one point, you make a complete circle, and you come back to where you started. They tell us that everything we do is already a part of a pattern . . . a pattern of the creation so that everything that happens was already written someplace and we're just filling in the pieces.

Our North American Indian Women's Association sign is a very beautiful emblem. The circle represents eternity. In the middle is the basket weave. This basket weave represents all of the interaction, the interchange that takes place from day to day. The bird, as most of you know, is used in the Indian religions; we use a lot of the feathers. The four directions, the four seasons, have a lot of meaning.

Today, I had my hopes built up and then I'd hear something and my hopes would go back down. I was kind of up and down, you know, wondering how we are ever going to pull things together because, as we heard evidence today, things don't look too good for the future. But that's just by way of saying I really feel proud of our Indian women because as someone this afternoon said, we're survivors. We've survived several hundred years of all kinds of things. When you see us with our sense of humor, the ability to laugh, to

tell stories, to sing, to dance, when we can still do those things, you know, it really lifts up my hopes for our future.

[*Mary Kay Harshaw (Cherokee), reigning Miss Cherokee, sang two selections and Phyllis Fife (Creek), presented a showing of Indian custom apparel.*]

NATANI: The next part of our program is something that is very near and dear to my heart. I want to ask all of the Indian women, who are presently now serving or who have in the past served on tribal governing bodies, to stand over here so that everybody can see you. Wow! How about this!

I'm sure you want to know who all these women are. I'm going to start with those who are presently on the tribal council and ask them to come up to the mike and introduce themselves, please. We'll start on this end.

VIOLA PETERSON: Flint, Mich. Tribal Council of Miami Indians of Indiana.

JUANITA PIPER: Caddo Tribal Council; also chairman of WDCE Enterprises.

PATSY LYNN MORTON: Cherokee Tribal Council, second year of a four-year term.

BETTY SMITH: Hulbert, Okla. Tribal Council for next four years—this is my first year as tribal councilwoman.

KAYE WARREN: I presently hold the position of Secretary/Treasurer for the Sac and Fox of Oklahoma.

MINNIE JOHNSON: I have fourteen years of the BIA and seven years for the Cherokee tribe.

IRENE JACOBS CLEGHORN: I am a member of the Creek Tribal Council and I am from Tulsa, Okla.

HELEN CHUPCO: Member of the Creek Tribal Council, from Muskogee, Okla.

HARRIET JAMES: Member of the Choctaw Nation Tribal Council. I'm from McAlester, Okla.

ANNA MITCHELL: From Vinita; I have served as a former representative from our county.

BONNIE STEPHENSON: Anadarko, Okla. I served on Delaware Tribal Council from 1973.

LINDA POOLAW: I serve on the Delaware of Western Oklahoma Council; I've been on for six years.

AGNES COWEN: I was chairman of the Elective Community Representative, which was a form of government similar to the council, and also the first councilwoman of the Cherokee Nation.

ADA DEER: Former Chair of the Menominee Restoration Committee, Wisconsin.

NATANI: Ada is also the person who put an end to the termination policy. Right?

MARILYN KODASEET BREAD: I served as secretary of the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma from 1977-79.

SHIRLEY FRENCH: Caddo Tribe of Anadarko, Okla., and I was the vice-chairman of our tribe.

IRENE HEARD: I have served on the intertribal council in the past, on the tribal council in our Pittsburg County at McAlester, Okla. and other efforts.

SUZANNE HEARD: I'm a member of the Choctaw tribe; I served six years on the intertribal council of the five tribes: Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole, and was elected the second year I served on the council as the first woman sergeant at arms. The next year I was selected as the first woman treasurer of the tribal council, of which I'm real proud. I'm from Muskogee, Okla. and that is my mother. We are the first mother-daughter team that ever served on the Intertribal Council.

BERNADETTE HUBER: I have served as the secretary and councilperson of the Iowa Tribe of Oklahoma. I come from Perkins, Okla.

JUDITH DeLaROSA: I represent the Delaware tribe. I served as tribal councilwoman in 1973 and am serving as secretary for the ten percent programming of the Delaware tribe.

JUDY DEERE: I was selected councilmember to the Kickapoo tribe of Oklahoma in 1979; I served one year.

NATANI: I served on the Winnebago Business Committee in Wisconsin from 1961-63.

Harriet Wright James is a Choctaw from McAlester, Okla., and an elected member of the Choctaw Tribal Council. She is a retired educator. She has given past service as a curriculum coordinator for the public schools and in university level Indian studies programs; served as language arts consultant for American Book Company, Cincinnati, Ohio; is founder of the children's library indoctrination program; is board member of the Goodland Presbyterian Children's Home; she's the first woman elected to the Choctaw Tribal Council. Please welcome Harriet.

Response to Recognition of Women Serving on Tribal Councils

Harriet Wright O'Leary James *(Choctaw)*

Madam President of North American Indian Women's Association, Madam Director of Ohoyo Resource Center, Miss Cherokee, other distinguished guests, conference participants, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Indian women serving on tribal councils, I say "thank you." We appreciate your praise. We need your criticism. Above all, we need your support.

I am a young councilman. All afternoon people have been telling how old they are. But I am a young councilman. I was elected in July of 1979, and seated in September of that year. Our council is the first Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma Council since Oklahoma statehood in 1907. There are fifteen members, three of whom are women.

I am a retired educator and some of you may know me as Harriet Wright O'Leary and my latest work in Indian education. I have no trouble with the word "councilman." The dictionary defines it as "a member of a council." Accent the first syllable, put a "shwa" sound in the second and third syllables, roll up your sleeves, ladies, and go to work. As women let's not get so busy trying to change the language that we lose sight of what we're trying to accomplish as we work for the people we represent. Respect, by ourselves and others, for the work we are doing, will bring the recognition for the place of women in society that we seek.

To those of you who are serving on councils or comparable tribal legislative bodies, I applaud you. To those of you who are not, I urge you to become interested in your tribal affairs and participate to the extent possible. If you're like me, I am sure there are times when you say, "What am I doing here?" Then say to yourself, "I'm here to help my people." First comes dedication, followed by patience, perseverance and preparedness, and don't forget to do your homework.

I'm a councilman because no one else wanted the position. I had been watching the filing procedure with a great deal of interest and no one from my district had filed. I had not planned to file for I had

recently taken an early retirement and was a bit reluctant to relinquish my new found freedom to do all the things I had always wanted to do and had never had time. Perhaps some of you have already experienced that time and thought in your life and some of you are closely approaching it. At one o'clock in the afternoon of the last day to file I learned that no one had filed from District Eleven. I decided that we should be represented, so I got busy. I was in McAlester, the tribal office was in Durant, a distance of 75 miles. I went to the bank and secured the necessary filing fee as a cashier's check, picked up my certificate of degree of Indian blood, called my son to go with me, for I do not yet have the skill to change a tire in a hurry, and got on my way.

We reached the tribal office at four o'clock and found several from other districts filing at the last hour, but no one from District Eleven. I completed my papers a few minutes before the five o'clock deadline. This was a first for me and, I will admit, a bit exciting. I did not have an opponent, but I did campaign. I wanted, above all, a large number of the votes cast as evidence of support. And I have been busy ever since.

Would my work be any different or more significant if I had defeated a man for the position? I don't think so. There was work to be done and I offered to do it. Did I hold back because I thought a man should hold the position? The stereotype that politics is only for men? Politics for women? Of course.

In closing, I want to relate something that has given me a number of chuckles. At the first meeting of the new council a man was elected as speaker and I was elected secretary. You know, the usual occurrence. Man for top position, woman for secretary. I positioned myself near the speaker and prepared to serve as secretary. However, I had stayed up late the night before and had gone into the meeting armed with two resolutions that I thought would really get us off to a good start. Listening carefully to all that was being said, monitoring the tape recorder, and taking notes kept me busy but I was determined to participate in the action of such an historic event. During the course of the day I presented my two resolutions and they were both soundly defeated. The chuckle now comes from the recollection that nearly everytime I made a statement, and I did speak, the tone of voice I heard in reply seemed to say, "Hush, woman."

You can note that I haven't taken it very seriously. I'm still making statements and I'm still doing my homework. I am now able to get resolutions adopted. I've learned a lesson: you win some and you lose some. And when you lose, determine why, regroup and reorganize, if necessary, or dismiss it, and move on. I presented one of the defeated resolutions several months later and it was

adopted. The other I have filed away and plan to present again when I believe it can receive the vote for adoption. I am a novice, but learning fast.

Again, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Indian women serving on tribal councils, I say "thank you"; we appreciate your praise, we need your criticism, and above all, we need your support.

NATANI: Real concerns I have had, especially concerning our young people, is the, it *was*, the lack of role models. As you heard several times today, history books have supposedly given us role models. But anyway, our young people, well, even those of us that are older, when we were growing up and trying to decide what it was that we should do, we couldn't say, "Well, here's this person that made her way up in the world and somebody that we could use as a model." We didn't have that, I know, when I was growing up. It's still pretty much true today. There's few Indian women who have really distinguished themselves and, in many cases, much to my dismay, when some people have climbed the ladder of success, they have sort of forgotten us. I'm sure you know some of those kinds of people.

Being out in Washington for 25 years, I have had a real good opportunity to see our Indian leaders, men and women, come and go. I've seen many of them in 25 years. Just in recent years there's been rapidly increasing numbers of Indian women who have come to Washington to work and out in the Eastern seaboard where all the Ivy League schools are, more and more of our Indian young people are going to school. I really consider it an honor to be associated with the kind of people that our speaker this evening represents. I have known Rayna for quite sometime now. She is really a wonderful person. She is a real human being. I think that is one of her greatest virtues. No matter where you see her, she's got time to talk to you. I suppose many of you know of her many accomplishments. I could stand up here all night and tell you that she is a lecturer and a scholar, but as was said earlier this afternoon, when we can reach the heights that Rayna has reached and still be human in the way she carries herself every day, I think that really says a lot. It gives me great honor to introduce Rayna Green.

After Feast Speech: Contemporary Indian Humor

Rayna Green *(Cherokee)*

Distinguished Visiting Professor, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H.: Project Director, National Native American Science Resource Center; compiled new scholarly work, NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN: A BIBLIOGRAPHY; Special Consultant, National Endowment for the Humanities on Indian Affairs and American Association for the Advancement of Science. Ph.D., Folklore and American Studies, Indiana University, 1973.

I am humbled before the stature that people like Mary Natani have reached — people who have been my role models and my teachers and after whom I can only hope that I could aspire to some real stature of that kind. There are lots of those people out here and I want to say "thank you" my dear friends: Ruth Arrington, Wathene Young, Carol Young, Nellie Buffalomeat, Wilma Mankiller, Kay Frank, Betty Lombardi, and dear, dear friends and my dear relatives, my dear people. I am truly grateful to be here. One, I'm always grateful to come home and get decent food. As you can see, I've been praying to God for years not to take me while I'm in a Taco Bell but at least to let me go eating grape dumplings. A couple of times a year I can come home and do that. I'm really grateful for that.

But I'm always grateful to come home for a number of other reasons. To see friends. I'm glad the business that I'm in gives me a pretense and an excuse to do this. I'm just delighted to be here before you tonight.

Before I start speaking, though, there is one award that has been omitted. I've had several discussions with people this afternoon. We really felt that some award was necessary for this distinguished person of great merit. It's an unusual, unusual kind of merit. I want to speak about this person just briefly. She has done something that by and large we just don't hear of much in Indian Country. At least, not in the last few years. I believe it is a model we can all aspire to. Many of you heard of Ada Deer's recent

triumph where she mugged a mugger on the streets of Washington, D.C. and came out smiling. The poor man was taken down to the jail because he made the unfortunate mistake of mugging a Menominee. All I can say is, I'm staying out of Wisconsin from now on. The poor man was taken back to the jail bleeding and his clothes torn. They said it was a canine corps dog but I'll never believe it. The poor fellow is certainly going to give up a life of crime after this.

But we decided, really, that Ada deserved something so that she could mug him more in Indian style. Leslie Wolfe thought of that very thing. If Ada would come forward we want to present her with something so that she can carry on her new found career. Ada, where are you? We felt this deserved a really special weapon so that Ada will not ruin her hands. They've been insured now by Lloyd's of London for millions of dollars and we want to present this to Ada. This is one hatchet we're not going to bury. (Leslie and Rayna present Ada with an enormous stone tomahawk.) We felt it was something to be proud of and it beats Mace. It only weighs eight pounds.

Well, as I said, I'm really grateful to be here. I'm particularly — I always enjoy the food, I know you can tell that. I'm grateful to be away from Hanover, N.H., and the Ivy League where, basically, dinner almost always consists of one chicken breast and a broccoli spear and a glass of sherry. I've really grown tired of it, in addition to freezing to death. So, I'm always glad to get back to Oklahoma.

Owanah Anderson asked me to address something that was relevant to the concerns of the women gathered here and the concerns of the Indian people gathered here. I tried to think what special talent I might have that I could talk to you about that would give you something to carry away with you — that would inspire you and would inspire Indian children. I just searched and searched my mind and I finally hit upon it . . . well, I'm a scholar and that's what I do in this world. I write and I do research. Most often most Indian people don't have much use for scholars, especially the kind I am . . . an anthropologist. I worried and worried. I thought, "Gee, here I am getting up before Indian people again and here I'm an anthropologist and those are the kinds of people that have just ripped us off."

I'm always a little embarrassed about it. I tried to think of some things I can tell you. My family, as you might guess, both my Cherokee and my non-Indian family, are really dubious about my scholarship. When I first started to go off and get a Ph.D., I got a fellowship to go to the Smithsonian and I was going to do a book, or my dissertation, actually. I called my mother, I was so excited and so proud. I called my mother and said — this is my way of saying

how your family keeps you humble — "Oh, Mother, I've gotten a fellowship and I'm going off to Smithsonian and I'm going to write a book." I knew she wouldn't know what a dissertation was so I didn't want to go on and explain it. She said, "Oh, that's wonderful, I'm so proud of you. Everyone in the family will be so proud of you. It's just marvelous you're doing it. Now what will you have to do to write this book? Won't you have to teach or something?" I'd been teaching for years, of course, and working hard and she knew that I'd have to do something — it just didn't come free. Nothing in our life ever did. So she said, "What do you have to do?" And I said, "I don't have to do anything, Mama, they're just going to give me this money and I'm going to go to the Smithsonian and write this book." There was a long silence and finally she said, "You mean to tell me that someone will pay you just to lay up and write?"

I realized then it was going to be a hard time in the next few years. People were not necessarily going to reward me for having done that. So I tried to think about what use Indian scholars like myself can be to Indian people. And I thought of all kinds of things. You know, we write all the time and do research and I'm grateful that Owanah and Ohoyo gave me the chance to do something that would actually get out to Indian people: the bibliography on Native women. Most of the things I write get published in places that no one will ever read them and so I'm always grateful for the chance to do something that will be useful to Indian people. I want to tell you about a few of those things that scholars, young Indian scholars, like myself, and ones much better than I am, are involved in and there's some very exciting things. I want to share those with you.

One of those things, for example, we are involved in, a number of us are now consulting for some new TV series. Norman Lear, who has produced SOAP, MAUDE — all these TV situation comedies — now we are producing Indian TV situation comedies. I really am so excited about this. Just think, Indian people will be on television. They won't be saying, "Um, my people call it Mazola." We have been changing this to actually produce real Indian commercials. Toni Eagleshield is going to come out and she is going to say, "You people call them mushrooms; my people call them magic." She's going to have a little white powder in one spoon and she's going to say, "My people call it . . ." (Smiling and deeply sniffing.) We've been thinking of giving her a glue tube, but we decided that would be tacky. We know you will share in the excitement of these new commercials. We really believe we can sell the products. We're marketing a commmercial fry bread mix very soon. Owanah doesn't know it yet but she's going to pose for it. She's going to be the Indian Aunt Jemima. We knew you'd be happy about that.

But the two things that excite us most are two serials we're working on. Charlie Hill and some of us are working on a Navajo

soap opera. It's about a modest little Navajo family, a bunch of sheepherders, and it's called YAZZIE AND HARRIET. The most exciting one is an Indian science fiction serial. It's called SKIN TREK. We're very excited about that, too. The computer is an old Indian man that calls everyone "my son" and leads them all astray, regularly. "Yes, my son, go two million miles, turn right . . ." Well, that's one of the things we're involved in doing.

We have an Indian professional series where professional Indians appear and talk about their careers and it's called DOCTORS, LAWYERS, AND, you guessed it, INDIAN CHIEFS. That's a nice one. We're doing a very exciting study now — a group of anthropologists and social scientists are doing a study on the Indian extended family. Basically the theme of it has to do with the alternatives to the nuclear family. One of the scholars that's working with us said that he thinks the Western nuclear family is just like nuclear power — difficult and dangerous. One of the reasons I came here is because I have been commissioned to do an article on the Indian women's movement. Particularly, on the Marxist/Socialist/Leninist/Indian feminist movement. So I'm here interviewing all the Marxist/Socialist/Leninist Indian feminists in Tahlequah. But the town phone booth wasn't big enough so we're doing the interviewing over here in the Community Center tomorrow and I hope I'll see all of you there. Don't mind the photographs and microphones. They're for the permanent record of Uncle Sugar who, of course, wants to know about all these people.

I am presently working on another project, too. Many people want to know why the Indian women's movement didn't really join the majority women's movement in this country. I've come up with a new theory of why they have not joined the women's movement. You've all heard that one of the first things people in the movement did was to burn their bras. I've really decided why Indian women didn't do that. Being the shape most of us are in, we were afraid they'd have to bring the fire trucks in from ten miles around. So you can understand why we were reluctant to join that movement. We figured we stopped air pollution in eastern Oklahoma from not doing that kind of burning.

But the thing I'm most excited about recently is the grand project. This is a multi-million dollar project, it's been funded by all the major foundations in the country. It's very exciting. As you know, all over the country, the Cherokee Nation and many of the Indian nations all over the country have established their own museums. I've done a great deal of museum consulting for the National Endowment and for the tribal museums, for the Indian Museum Association. But I had found a real lack of a particular kind of museum that I really feel we need. And this is going to be a major cultural institution. I want to tell you about it because I am

so thrilled to be part of this. This idea, I have to give credit, was originally hatched up by the ex-chairman of the Winnebago tribe, Louis LaRose, and myself, late one night in a serious scholarly discussion in Albuquerque. Basically what we want to develop is a unique, cultural institution. I know you will be thrilled. This is an institution that is meant for Indian people. It is something we've been needing for a long time. It's something that is particularly needed to meet a very special, critical need. The museum is called THE MUSEUM OF THE PLAINS WHITE PERSON. It meets this critical need that I spoke of. It's very serious. You see, we began to be very worried. As you know their (White people's) culture is dying out. Very soon, very soon there will be very few White persons. We worry about this. What will the last surviving White persons do when they have no one to ask what their language was like, what their customs and clothes were like. So, we began to worry about this and we came up with the idea of the MUSEUM OF THE PLAINS WHITE PERSON. As I said, it's been met with great reception all over the country. Foundations have rushed to pour money in. Indian people have given money for it. I can't tell you how many shawl and blanket raffles have gone on to pay for this museum. And I want to tell you something about the museum and perhaps this will inspire some of you to go to those few White people that you know are living out there and quickly acquire artifacts from them before they disappear. Because, you know, they don't know how to take care of them. We worry about this. It's quite serious.

The first big collection that we are working on, and this is really inspiring, is the bone collection. As you know, all museums have to have a bone collection. We have begun a national campaign to acquire the bones of famous White people. We want little Indian children to be able to come in and study these and Indian scholars want to pore over them, the different skull shapes and so forth. And, of course, when we do acquire them we will acquire them permanently. As you know, they cannot be given back once they have been handled. We do need to study them for years. And so we are acquiring these. We have just acquired, I think, what is a quite moving find. One of the most important ones. We have just acquired the bones of John Wayne. As you realize what great significance this can have for the scholars, what a study of his bones will tell us about these people and what their lives were like. Well, so that's very important.

There are a number of other famous bones that we want to acquire and I am sure you can begin to guess whose we have our sights on. It's going to be thrilling. The collection will be quite large, of course. We have planned to make the collection as large as it needs to be with as many samples. So, we are going to

begin a massive grave excavation all over the country. We have, through our legal offices, which have become very sophisticated, as you know, acquired clear title to at least 80 percent of all the graves in White cemeteries all over the country. We plan to move in with steam shovels right away. We've acquired Mr. Peabody's big coal shovel which did strip mining up at Northern Cheyenne in order to begin and it's going to be an amazing project.

I'll tell you a few things about some of the other collections that I think are quite exciting. We are going to have collections of their food, for example — their food ways. We are going to reconstruct a McDonald's in its entirety. In that we're going to have true-to-life plastic exhibits of white bread, mayonnaise, iceberg lettuce and peanut butter which will be everywhere — smeared all over everything. Primarily stuck to the roof of everyone's mouth. We are going to have several exhibits about their customs. We want to have some performing arts there and we have found the last of a number of White people who know their dances and songs and who have preserved these intact and we are going to have everyday, living exhibits of the two-step, the fox-trot, the disco and other dances. This is going to be very exciting when children come to visit, particularly.

We have acquired exhibits of their costumes. In fact, in the condominium that we are going to reconstruct in its entirety, inside the museum, there will be a typical little family with the gentleman in the three-piece suit and a briefcase and all the other artifacts of their civilization.

We have found one very unusual thing that I do want to tell you about. It's an archaeological remain that we have found somewhat in the vicinity of what used to be called "Los Angeles." It's very interesting. It proves that their culture was very flighty. They seemed to change rulers quite regularly. It's kind of interesting. In fact, we found an archaeological artifact that indicates that they changed rulers regularly. It's a big thing they used to call a neon sign—and it says "Queen for a Day." We are going to do some more excavation to determine just how they did depose their rulers and how they transferred power.

Well, I think you'll agree that this is one of the most exciting things that Indian people have done — one of the most exciting contributions that we could make. As young Indian scholars we are deeply pleased to be able to make this. I should tell you something about the Board of Trustees. It will be composed entirely of distinguished Indian people and one little old White lady from Nebraska who speaks no Indian languages. However, she is going to be the representative for the total culture as we feel that anyone of her age and status would be able to speak for all of them. We know

they'll be pleased to have a representative. We did find her the other day and we plan to spray and fix her permanently so she will remain on the board.

Well, I think you'll agree that this is a very exciting contribution for young scholars to make and I hope you've begun to see the wonderful things that scholars like myself, humble, well-trained in Western ways, can perform for tribes. I was just talking to Chief Swimmer this morning and telling him some of these things. He agreed that this was just marvelous — a great potential — and that we could, in fact, count on the tribe's hiring at least 20 young scholars to help the tribe do some of these projects for economic development and for the betterment of the Nation in the future. One of the things we did help the tribal council understand recently is about this CERT which the tribe has just joined, and that it actually is the Council of Energy Resource Tribes. The council had thought that it was a breath mint and that they were buying stock in it when they joined. But we've straightened that out for them. We were happy and pleased to do that kind of linguistic translation for the tribe.

Well, I don't want to burden your patience with all this scholarly dry dissertation anymore except to thank you and hope that some of you will look forward to hiring some of us someday. We feel we have skills that Indian people can use and, particularly, that Indian women can use as they march forward to take over — and that's what this is all about. And so, we're planning on the takeover right away. But we'll be gentle. I'm pleased that young scholars will be involved in this and I want to thank you for hearing me and hope that we'll be seeing you soon with some more of these exciting projects.

THE WORKSHOPS

Networking In Indian Country Workshop

Moderator: Ruth Dial Woods
Panelists: Bette Crouse Mele
Deanna Cheshewalla
Viola G. Peterson

IMPACTING THE NATIONAL SCENE
IN NETWORKING

Bette Crouse Mele *(Seneca)*

Immediate past President, Indian Rights Association, national leadership in treaty rights advocacy. Published author. Princeton, N.J. resident.

When I was given my assignment to address this conference on the subject of impacting the national scene, I felt somewhat intimidated and wondered about my qualifications. I feel that this is a very humbling request. It's very difficult to evaluate our impact. During most of our lives we've been responding to issues rather than creating them and we're frequently consumed by our responsibility to nurture, and to provide, to satisfy our needs moving on from one problem to another without adequate time to assess the results of our efforts. In fact, what I wanted to do was to share some of my efforts, my reasons for making them, and some of my feelings about why we should make them.

As a child and as a young woman I grew up having to make accommodations for racism. But fortunately, I spent most of my young life on the reservation, and I had time to find out who I am. Sometimes I was told what my responsibilities are: to share, to nurture, and that responsibility which Shirley Hill Witt referred to in her address yesterday at the symposium — what we do will affect our people for generations. But mostly I learned from examples. That was to assume responsibility for political issues. I also learned that Seneca men do not question our right to share that

responsibility. And there's a lot of positive things to being a woman. But I also became aware of the negative aspect of reservation life during that period. And that was a pervasive sense of helplessness in opposing outside forces.

When I was young, living on the reservation, I had the counsel of a very dear friend — an older woman — who was a Quaker worker, an Indian field worker from Philadelphia, among the Senecas. She had a patient faith, pride and strength for my people and she especially admired Seneca women.

Quakers have a long history of working among the Senecas. They began working with us in 1790, were very supportive, and ever alert to dangers of termination. So when the Kinzua Dam project came up again she urged me to become involved in opposing it. I hadn't been aware of the Kinzua Dam project. It actually started in the '30s during the depression, when our reservation was surveyed and then the whole project was set aside and became a very definite threat.

At that time I was married and I had children and I was living far from the reservation. I really didn't know what I could do. Communication was very difficult. Preparations for the Dam went relentlessly ahead — the destruction of our reservation was devastating. The Dam took 10,000 acres of a 40,000 acre reservation, our best farm land, destroyed ecology that was essential, part of our culture, and broke the oldest unbroken treaty between the Federal government and an Indian Nation. We were outraged.

The excuse for building the Dam was that it was for flood control. Quakers hired Arthur Morgan who headed the Tennessee Valley Authority and he did studies to prove that flood control could be done more effectively by building the Kinzua Dam elsewhere. Americans in the east were apathetic — they did not respond to our request for support. There was a syndrome at that time in American history when Easterners thought that all Indians lived west of the Mississippi River. Many land claims cases cured them of that problem.

It is difficult to pull out all the stops when there are no stops to pull out. I began to latch on to anything promising. I began addressing church groups, school groups, social organizations and asked people to write letters. It was encouraging to get some response and so I thought I'd try for some of the bigger fish. I wrote to Margaret Mead and got a response. Margaret Mead was an anthropologist of great social conscience. I wrote to David Suskind, who was then the big-deal of one-man shows. I knew his sister and thought that would help, but I got no response from him. But I did compile an awesome list of correspondents during that time. And at the same time I talked to all of my friends about the issue. One of

them was a man who worked as one of the staff people on a national network. He took the Kinzua Dam issue to the people at the station and this resulted in a TV special on the Kinzua Dam. Nothing really, however, stopped the Kinzua Dam.

I gained some experience from this. All the time I was working on it I wasn't pre-empting anything else the tribe was doing — our president, our councilmen, our tribal members were testifying before congressional committees. It was my independent effort to bring national attention to something that had community consensus — something that was an established, well-defined problem.

But over the years I felt that somehow or other this experience that we went through should be of benefit to other Indian people. I felt this need to share my experience with others hoping that in some way our experience could help others avert the same kind of disaster. And over the years, as Indian nationalism grew, and Indian organizations were founded, I made every effort to keep up with the development and lend support, to share my experience and to share my contacts.

In 1970, I became involved in Indian issues on the national level through the first convocation of American Indian scholars, and became associated with an organization based in California that worked with tribes thoughout the United States and also, we had a branch that published. I worked in founding WASSAJA, which was a national Indian newspaper, and worked as a reporter. My number of contacts increased, but networking among organizations remained an on-again/off-again proposition.

In 1976, I was elected president of the Indian Rights Association, based in Philadelphia. That was the year of the great backlash to Indian rights. The Association is the oldest non-Indian advocacy organization for Indian rights in the United States. It was not functioning actively when I took over. I was the first Indian, and the first woman president. The risks were really great for me because of this non-active, nearly defunct organization. In the event the Indian Rights Association didn't survive, my name would be attached to the failure or the downfall of that prestigious old organization. But there was, there still is, and there always has been a great need for the support of non-Indians to help us continue to prevail and to help us in our struggle to prevail.

What was missing in the Indian Rights Association when I took over was the lack of contact within Indian communities and organizations. Networking was a critical need. For many years Indian Rights Association has been a privately supported organization that sent field workers out when Indian communities issued a call for help and support. For 50 years they had served as the only

organization supporting Indian rights in the United States. They are a very important part of our history. It took time to network. It meant a lot of talking and a lot of time getting to talk with people who worked with national Indian organizations, getting in touch with communities to establish needs, their needs and their priorities, but the response was very rewarding. My friends put me in touch with their contacts and the support I received was extremely gratifying.

With the help of Indian communities and the Indian people and national Indian organizations we got Indian Rights Association back on its feet and functioning effectively again. We had a publication, we managed to increase the number of Indian Rights' publications in our effort to educate the American public. We represented a constituency which is a very effective thing to use in lobbying for Indian rights. We also had some very good contacts.

We had a member of our board who was past president of the American Psychiatric Association. We were trying to get new legislation passed for Indian health care. Dan Blain, who was past president of the Association, carried the bill with him to a national meeting of the American Psychiatric Association and lobbied for support of its passage. The American Psychiatric Association has lobbying facilities in every state. This is a very powerful organization to have on your side. When we were working on support for the Indian Child Welfare Act we went directly to Robert Coles, a well-known psychiatrist who teaches at Harvard. He's also an author of a number of books, one of them CHILDREN OF CRISES, and in it he wrote very sensitively about Indian children and how they relate to the non-Indian community. (Coles has appeared at the White House, at the request of the Carters, and made a presentation there.) We approached Coles and asked him if he would give us his support and he was very responsive.

This was the sort of thing that we did and I tried to do through my work with Indian Rights Association and other organizations that I worked with. I found that to work very effectively on swaying concensus, a lot of us had to do this kind of thing to get bills passed. Hopefully, what we did in this networking and approaching people of influence, organizations of influence, was to move the administration, or to move the President, to sign the bill.

One of the things I'd like to emphasize is that all of us are part of a constituency. That fact can be used when you talk to your congressman. It doesn't matter whether or not you voted for him or her. This person won the election and they are your elected representative. It's their responsibility to represent your interests.

There's one thing that I'm very much aware of — we come from a proud heritage. You know where you came from. And you should

never be intimidated by fame, power or money in approaching anybody.

In my experience I found networking with Indian women to be freer and better than it is between Indian men and Indian women. I consider this a challenge to Indian men. We are entering an even more critical period of our history where networking and mutual support are our greatest assets to fighting for our rights. In this American society no one belongs more than you do. Some may prevail for a period of time with their political power, but basically the American society is a society of aliens struggling with each other. And this is not a model that we should follow. We must remember this in the days to come: we are not special interest groups, *we* are nations.

NETWORKING IN URBAN COMMUNITIES

Deanna Cheshewalla *(Osage)*

Director, Title IV, Dallas Independent School District; Speaker, Texas Cultural Alliance Conference in Guatamala; Board, Dallas Intertribal Center. Well-known urban Indian affairs speaker and cross-cultural advocate. Texas resident.

I think the topic of networking in the urban area is really interesting, but I am like the salesman who was one before he knew how to spell it. That's about the way with me. I looked up the definition of "networking." I thought it was very interesting. I'd like to read it to you:

> Networking means developing contacts within certain segments of the community; to facilitate or implement objectives toward specific goals.

I'm Title IV director in Dallas and the first year that I was Title IV director, I was budgeted $40,000. We didn't have any transportation. And, the school system presented a problem.

I worked in the school — I'd been teaching for a long time, so I thought, "Well, phooey with that; I'm going to Indian organizations." We have two Indian centers in Dallas: American Indian Center which has pre-school programs and Dallas Intertribal Center which has the Manpower program, health, and several other programs — arts and crafts — so I went to the Manpower program and I told them, "Look, I need help on some staff, OJTs (on-the-job-training), and work experience . . ." So I got staff persons right away from the Manpower program and I kept hitting on the Indian Centers until I made them help provide transportation.

I was involved in networking before I even realized what I was doing. But I think networking almost comes natural for Indian people because we are a group-oriented type of people — we depend on our family for certain things and just being an Indian, just kind of extended from the Indian community. So networking, for me, was just a natural thing to do.

Two years ago we went to Denver for the National Indian Education Association Conference. We decided we wanted to bring the NIEA convention to Dallas in 1980. We went lobbying till we got the convention to come to Dallas. And that's when I really learned a lot of networking ways because there's a lot of responsibilities that go with planning a big convention. You have to have support of a lot of people.

You have to sell the idea of what's happening. That's also part of networking. Besides making your contacts you have to sell the hometown people. I said, "Look, Indian people, there are going to be 2,000 other Indian people coming here to Dallas and we need to work together."

There are many different tribes in Dallas and in the urban area. In Dallas alone there are 100 different tribes. So, you've got to really go across all those problem areas and just concentrate on Indians. That was what I did in working with United Way. I felt like we'd get together about 20 people and that was really rather small considering how many people we had from all parts of the country.

The difference about really working in urban areas is you have to work with a lot of non-Indian people. Many of the non-Indian people that you work with are ignorant about what it means to be Indian. That's where I try to educate them. I am very proud and have always been very proud of being an Indian. I try to have a little tougher skin about it — not be so sensitive — because I found out a lot of times people will make comments that would be insulting to me but they won't even understand how they've insulted me. If I can make them understand what they're saying is a negative

comment about Indian persons, if I can educate them about what it means to be Indian, then I can maybe turn it around and make them a contact or advocate. And this is something that I have worked for because we are a small people. I think the census said there's a little over a million Indians in the United States. So I think it is wonderful to be here with Indian women — and the men that are here, too. But we have to have non-Indian contacts because we can't do everything ourselves.

So, in an urban area it's especially important that you go out and make an impression on these other organizations, the foundations, or whomever you're working with, to whatever goal you want to reach. Sometimes you have to be a little bit different when you approach some of these organizations. You have to approach them in a way they expect. Then sell your ideas.

I find being in Dallas really a challenge because I don't feel I'm any less Indian living in an urban area. In fact, I see more needs of the children. I work mostly with students, but because of my involvement with the students I have been very much involved with human centers.

I'm not the kind of person that steps forward whenever they ask for a volunteer, but I also don't step backward. Just standing there a lot of times, I've found myself being out front. If I'm asked, then I will do it. I've found that working for the other Indian people there in Dallas, many of them are in the same situation I am. There are a lot of Indian people there but there are just a few that do a lot of the work. I don't get discouraged by it. I spend a lot of time in the community. I've been on both the boards of the national Indian groups and sometimes I feel like the Dallas Indian people get tired of looking at me and hearing me. This morning when I learned there were a lot of Dallas people here in the audience, I was really surprised that they would come to hear a workshop where I was speaking, because I was sure they were sick of me by now.

Dallas people have been very supportive. It's because we have common goals. We're working for the children. Children are very important. They're our future leaders. We're here now but how long are we going to be? Are we going to perpetuate our culture? Do you talk to your children or your grandchildren the way your grandparents talked to you, or your parents? It's very important and in the city it's very easy to lose sight of what is an Indian. It bothers me a lot because, like I said, the Indian student population in Dallas numbers about 1,000 in a school district that has 100,000 students. So many times when I talk to the students and ask them, "What is Indian?" "I don't really know," they respond.

I missed the luncheon so I didn't get to hear what was said about impacting curriculum but I know our kids are not learning about

being Indian. They're not learning positive things as they should. And I think with the networking you could start at home and make your own kids contacts, then have their friends be contacts about Indian goals and objectives — spread it out with your teachers, principals.

Networking, I think, also involves being vocal. That's part of it. Find out what other peoples' talents are. Many of the people I work with need encouragement. The same as I need encouragement. And you need encouragement. When I find out someone has a specific skill or talent, I always build on them and try and put them in contact with others that might need that talent. I think this is a part of networking, too. Some people are just better at some things. They have some natural gifts. If you can help them — put them in the right place at the right time for Indian objectives, or even to better themselves, this is a part of networking. Not just making a contact, but also making a good feeling that goes with it.

I think making contacts within an Indian community is the easiest part. But when we stand out there in front of non-Indian people, that's a little bit more difficult. I think that when we realize that when we are representing Indians in a non-Indian community we need to hold our head up high, we need to dress as well as we can. When I hire people to work for me, I tell them the same thing. School is real bad about this sort of thing. They've got all these negative stereotypes. I say, "Look, I don't care what you do in your private life, but if you're going to represent Indians and Indian education, I want you to look nice. You're a role model for these children. For many of them, it's a new thing for them to see an Indian person as a professional, so make them be proud of you."

IMPACTING EXISTING INDIAN COALITIONS

Viola Peterson *(Miami of Indiana)*

Chair, Governors' Interstate Indian Council; Board, National Indian Education Association; Presidential Appointee and former Chair, National Advisory Council on Indian Education. Resident of Flint, Mich.

What I want to present is an outline of what I consider a step-by-step approach to networking, whether it's on the local level, the state level or the national level. I need to point out that there's another level in between: the regional level.

The first thing you have to do is figure out "what I want to accomplish" in building a network in advocacy of a certain issue. You have to define your own position. Put it in a couple of sentences that are very clear.

Then, you must know the laws — the existing laws — that relate to the issue, whether it's local, state or federal laws. Know those laws. Know how they impact on what you're trying to do.

Next thing is to be aware of other opinions that might bear on your particular issue. Some are going to be contrary to what you think, perhaps, but it's surprising when you're talking about an issue if you explain very well your position to other people. You may just find that the only obstacle to their support is a difference in approach.

Your next step is garnering support. I swear that you can't do anything locally, statewide or nationally until you have the support of your own people. You have seen Indian people go out and give these big lectures and expound about things, but if you don't have grassroots support from people at home, you're shot down before you start. So discuss this issue thoroughly with folks at home — your people, neighbors, sisters, brothers, aunts, teachers — anybody that will listen. Just pound their ear and discuss it. Don't be afraid to talk it out. Doing this, of course, you use all the local forum for input regarding both support and questions and possible opposition; all forums — churches, church groups, school

groups, talk to the mayor if you can get an audience.

While you're doing all these things, keep notes with the names, the dates, the places, of the meetings, the people you've talked to. Record the dates. And, what I have done on certain issues when I've been involved, just keep running notes. I may have to tear up the corner of this paper and make a note to myself. Keep these notes. They'll help you even to develop a chronological report when you get done. You may not need them, but ten years from now they'll make good reading.

While you are working on this particular issue, don't let side issues get involved. If you're talking about housing, don't start bringing in the employment. Stick with the housing. One item at a time. Be very single-minded about it. They talk about tunnel vision, but there are times when you have to keep one main thing going. Because if you get into something else, that dilutes your efforts.

When you are dealing with local people, you can do it through written statements. Learn to write. You don't have to be a proven author. Just write from the heart. Just express yourself as though you were talking to someone, but make it from your heart. Make it sincere and, above all, be accurate. Stick to the facts. If everything is accurate, you're building your credibility.

Be businesslike and cooperative in your approach. Approach it as though you were the president of General Motors. State your purpose, be cooperative. So long as you can cooperate, that's what you should do because the old saying that you draw more flies with sugar than you do with vinegar is certainlv true. So you cooperate insofar as you can but you do not have to compromise your main issue.

My tenth suggestion is to be as optimistic and as upbeat as possible, whether you're writing or speaking. Keep things on the upgrade. If you have something to report, make a recommendation that will be helpful — show how it will improve things — if it will do some good for the general public — if it will save the taxpayers some money, good. Report that. That's an optimistic note. If it will help the Indian people feel better about themselves, that's great. Just keep as optimistic as you can. We know we have enough problems all along the line. We've been to meetings where all we hear is, "Gee, this is wrong, that's wrong, something's falling apart, Washington's doing this to us, the state's doing that to us, the Ku Klux Klan's got our first names." Be optimistic.

There are 33 states right now that either have Indian people in the governor's office or whose state legislatures have passed laws to create Commissions on Indian Affairs. When you approach your

state's Commission on Indian Affairs, have a written statement prepared and mail it to the members before meeting time. When you appear before them, read only a synopsis. Don't try to read your whole paper; that's too time consuming. Then, open yourself up for questions. You must be prepared to answer these questions and provide clarification by doing your homework. You must know the law that supports your issue; then, you seek the support of the state commission.

The best way to secure support for your issue is through passage of a resolution. You can find people who can write resolutions. If you need help, just ask anybody. Ask an English teacher or go to your school, or go to your tribal chairman, whatever. There's somebody out there who knows. If you're soliciting support from the tribal council, go the same route. Their meetings are usually open. If you request a place on the agenda, have a well-written position paper there ahead of your appearance. Give a short oral review, answer questions, and present your pre-written resolution ready for the council's support. Of course, you must always be aware of and adhere to the format of any organization before which you appear.

When you go to the national organization, it's the same thing there. You obtain the addresses and meeting times from either your tribal office or from Indian centers. Indian centers have a wealth of information and once again you ask to be on the agenda. Take your paper and make yourself open to questions. Present your report and have your resolution ready.

Your last step in all this is to disseminate all resolutions of support to the appropriate Indian leaders, Indian organizations, Indian centers, and appropriate local, state or federally elected-appointed officials. Anyone that can have impact on what you're doing. Get the information to them and your approach can be friendly, it can be shy, but however you approach them, don't be fainthearted. Just move right along. Your heart will pound and your palms will sweat on some occasions. But, you are after a purpose. You are here to improve some aspects of Indian life, whether it's in the city, whether it's in the country or whether it's at the tribal level.

I have heard tribal people saying they are not getting turnout for tribal meetings. That's too bad. It's the same thing that's too bad about Indian centers and their boards of directors. If you want to get something done you have to inform yourself. As Carol Connor was telling us yesterday about the Crow Reservation, they're losing their rights. They're cutting into the sovereignty of the tribe. If the sovereignty of the tribe is cut into you can imagine what will happen to the rest of the Indians in the country. They'll just pack us

off one by one — program by program — dollar by dollar — to shut down. We must be alert to these things. These are times we must act.

Indian people have been reacting for too many years. We react. We don't take the action first and let other people react to us. We're always on the defensive. They back us into a corner and we come up fighting and then we're the bad guys because we're fighting. Fighting for our rights. If we go at it in a businesslike way, we must anticipate the needs that are out there. If we could use our efforts to convince our own folks of what needs to be done, then we won't have too much trouble convincing the rest of the world.

Accessing Indian Education Workshop

Moderator:	Yvonne Wynde
Panelists:	Carol Cross Juneau
	Carol Allen-Weston
	Mary Ann Brittan
	Delores Twohatchet

OVERVIEW OF TRIBALLY-CONTROLLED COMMUNITY COLLEGES

Carol Cross Juneau *(Mandan-Hidatsa)*

President, Blackfeet Community College in Montana; authored successful proposal securing Women's Educational Equity funds to implement a women's resource center within the college.

I am a Mandan-Hidatsa Indian of Fort Berthold Reservation, N. Dak. I currently serve as the president of Blackfeet Community College of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation in Montana. The Blackfeet Reservation is located in the northwestern corner of Montana, bordered on the west by the Rocky Mountains and on the

north by Canada. It is a beautiful area of the country with a variety of scenic areas. The eastern part of the Reservation is farming plains and the western part extends up to the Rocky Mountains with many lakes, streams, and timber. The Blackfeet Indians number approximately 12,000 enrolled members, of which an estimated 7,000 live on the Reservation. Other Indian people, such as a small group of Cree, have settled along the Babb/St. Mary's area and there are other Indians and non-Indians who reside on the Blackfeet Reservation.

The Blackfeet Community College is just one of the many tribally-controlled community colleges now in existence in the United States. The tribally-controlled community college movement came to life in the 1960s with the first being Navajo Community College in 1968. In 1972, there had been six others established primarily in the state of South Dakota on the Sioux Reservations. In 1981, there are approximately 22 tribally-controlled community colleges throughout the United States.

Historically, Indian education, as provided by the United States government, missionaries and churches, public institutions, and private institutions has been unsuccessful in meeting the unique needs of Indian students at all levels. Many major studies have addressed the failure, the neglect, the disgrace of Indian education in the past by these agencies and institutions. Through the work of many individuals, the tribal councils, various organizations, in efforts to design a more effective educational system to meet the needs of Indian students, new systems of education are being established on reservations where Indian people themselves can have control of their education and their children's education. This concept of Indian-controlled education includes the tribal colleges. The success of students at the traditional institutions of higher education has been very minimal. One study showed that only 4 percent of the Indian students who entered college graduate from college with a bachelor's degree. Also, the number of Indian students who enter college is far below the national average. The traditional colleges are not meeting the needs of Indian people in higher education as they should. There are many people who live in reservation communities who cannot leave their home communities nor want to leave for various reasons such as close cultural ties, family ties and financial needs. But, the need to provide these individuals with the opportunity to secure post-secondary and higher education services is extremely important. Therefore, the tribal colleges are designed to bring post-secondary and higher educational services to the people of the reservation communities that is relevant and specific to the needs of that community.

A tribally-controlled community college has many unique features which include the following:

- The college is tribally-controlled. The representative tribal governing body of that reservation provides the college with a charter and either through an election process or appointment process gives the governance of the college to a board of regents/directors. This board is composed of tribal members.
- The college is located in the heart of Indian Country. They are centered in their respective reservation communities, thus making the college accessible to the people.
- The programs of study are designed to address the specific needs of that community, with an emphasis placed on the cultural heritage of that tribe and also with programs that are designed to provide skills for entry into the labor market both locally and off-reservation.
- The majority of the students are Indian students.
- The staff of the college are primarily Indian people.
- The colleges are community-oriented, utilizing the services of many community agencies and organizations in a cooperative effort.

Services provided by the tribal colleges vary according to the needs of the respective reservation community which it serves. An example is Salish-Kootenai Community College of the Flathead Reservation in Montana which provides training in the area of forestry, which is one of the Flathead Tribe's major industries. The Blackfeet Community College provides training in the area of teacher training, which is one of the deficiencies identified by many needs assessments and is due to the lack of certified Indian personnel in the local public school systems on the Blackfeet Reservation.

The curricula offered is available on the freshman and sophomore level in addition to curricula in the areas of developmental studies, community services, vocational and occupational areas. Tribal colleges also work with their tribal governing bodies in providing research assistance in grantsmanship, serving on various local committees and other services that address the needs of the community. One of the areas that many of the tribal colleges need to get more involved in is the area of research. It is an area that we have not concentrated on as we have worked to meet specific needs in development stages. It's an area that I think tribal colleges should get into more. The tribal colleges award Certificates of Completion, Associate of Arts degrees, Associate of Applied Science degrees, and Diplomas to students who successfully complete the requirements of the program of study.

Tribal colleges' students are mainly Indian. At the Blackfeet

Community College, approximately 95 percent are Indian, and many are Native American women. The female student enrollment is approximately 70 percent or more each quarter. Many of these women are heads of households and/or working mothers. Services need to be provided to meet their specific and unique needs. The Blackfeet Community College has been fortunate to receive funding under the Women's Educational Equity Act for fiscal years 1981 and 1982 to provide services to students. Child care needs are now being met through organizing a network of child care services, transportation needs are being met through a van and car pools, an information center/resource library is being developed and specific workshops and courses are being offered that address the specific needs and concerns of the American Indian female student.

Tribal colleges are attracting the student who has never previously attended college, students who have gone to college elsewhere but who have left or dropped out of that college, students who are taking specific classes to update their job skills for upward mobility in employment and students who take classes for their own personal and social reasons. The typical high school graduate is still leaving the reservation community to attend college elsewhere. We hope to be able to recruit the high school graduate as our college continues to grow.

A tribal college must have certain criteria in order to begin operation and provide services. Over the past five years the Blackfeet Community College has grown from a very small, struggling institution with a staff of three people, a small office, and with a very small budget, to an institution of higher education. The Blackfeet Community College now has six programs of study and a variety of services available to students. The enrollment has increased from 67 students enrolled in Fall Quarter 1976, to an enrollment of 304 students in Fall Quarter 1980. Some of the criteria and tasks necessary to accomplish for a tribal college include the following:

- *Tribal Charter.* The Tribal Governing Body must support the institution through the issuance of a charter giving the powers and authority to the institution.
- *Board of Regents or Directors.* Through either an election or appointment process the Board of Regents must be established, and this Board should be tribal members. The Board must establish by-laws for operation.
- *Tax-Exempt Status.* The college needs to secure tax-exempt status as a non-profit corporation from IRS.
- *A Needs Assessment.* The college should complete a needs assessment to determine the needs and interests of the community in curriculum and the services needed by students.

- *Staff*. The staff of the college needs to be committed to the goals and purposes of the college and be willing to face a lot of struggles, problems, and work in the college's development.
- *Funding*. Financial support is necessary. The amount needed to begin is minimal. The Blackfeet Community College began with a $32,000 budget the first year. Financial support continues to be one of the major needs as the college grows.
- *Community Support*. The tribal council, the organizations/agencies, and community need to support the college. You will need to call upon the resources, expertise, facilities, and materials of the community to assure the success of the college.
- *Students*. Students need to enroll. Without the student, there is no need for the college. Services need to be provided, with financial aid being the major concern and need of students.
- *Curriculum*. Courses must be provided to the community that are relevant and needed. It is important to provide courses as soon as possible to let the community know that the college is available.
- *Sponsoring Institution*. Many of the tribal colleges began operation through the assistance of a sponsoring institution of higher education close to them. The sponsoring institution provides the developing college with a great deal of support systems and technical assistance. One of the state institutions or private institutions in the state that is accredited sponsored many of the tribal colleges under a bilateral arrangement through Title III of the Higher Ed. Act. This is the way the Blackfeet Community College started out with Flathead Valley Community College providing us with the services, the expertise, the assistance and the support systems necessary for the Blackfeet Community College to begin.

The major step of a tribal college is accreditation. The first step in this process is to achieve all the standards and criteria set forth by the Accreditation Association with which the college will be working. This process consists of an application with planning documents, a self-study, an evaluation visit, and an interview with the Commission on Colleges of the Accreditation Association. If the college is deemed to be making progress toward accreditation and meets the established criteria, then the college is awarded Candidate Status for Accreditation. This status does not mean that the college is accredited, but that the college is progressing toward accreditation. The Blackfeet Community College achieved Candidate Status for Accreditation on December 1, 1979, after three and one-half years of operation. Now, the Blackfeet Community College is continuing to work toward achieving full accreditation on or before 1985.

Accreditation is vitally important for tribal colleges. Without this status, the students of the colleges cannot transfer credits to

other institutions of higher education and the college is not accepted as a viable institution of higher education in the higher education community. Also, PL 95-471, the Tribally-Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978, which provides operational support to tribal colleges, requires that the tribal college be feasible, which includes Candidate Status for Accreditation.

There are many challenges continuing to confront the tribally-controlled community colleges today. Some of these are:

- *Accreditation.* In the efforts to achieve full accreditation or candidate status, you find many, many standards or criteria placed upon you by the Accreditation Association and by other institutions in the state. You have to try to maintain your uniqueness as a tribal college serving the needs of the community, yet meet the standards imposed upon you by many outside, non-Indian institutions. There have been some discussions by the American Indian Higher Education Consortium on the need for a regional or national accreditation association for tribal colleges. At the present time, the tribal colleges work with the Regional Accreditation Association.
- *Funding.* The majority of the Indian reservations do not have a tax base and tribal incomes are limited. Therefore, it is difficult to secure adequate tribal financial support for a stable financial base and most tribal colleges are dependent upon federal sources. The proposed budget cuts of the new administration will have a detrimental effect on tribal colleges. The block grant concepts of the BIA and state block grants from the federal government will create new challenges not only to the tribal colleges, but all tribal programs. Tribal colleges do charge tuition, but it is minimal and this source of revenue cannot meet their expanding needs.
- *Facilities.* Many of the tribal colleges began out of small offices here, church basements, various places that were provided to them by some community agencies. Some have been able to get new facilities — many haven't. The majority of them are in need of adequate facilities for classroom space, office space, library space, and student centers. Construction funds are almost non-existent now and many tribal colleges will have to continue to operate out of makeshift rented or in-kind facilities.
- *Work with State Institutions/Agencies.* The issue of transferability of credit from tribal colleges to the state institutions of higher education will continue to be a major concern and effort of the tribal colleges. Also, with the new state block grant programs, the tribal colleges will now need to develop the necessary processes and relationships with state agencies to secure funding from the programs under the block grants. As

tribal and state relationships have not always been very successful, the liaison that will be necessary now will require a great deal of work. The federal trust relationship that exists between tribes and the United States government due to treaties and laws must not be lost, and it will be threatened through the state block grant program.

The tribally-controlled community colleges are relatively new to the systems of education in the United States. It has been only 15 years since the first tribal college, Navajo Community College, was established. Many are in developmental stages, some have achieved Candidate Status, and some full accreditation. The future will continue to bring new challenges, not only for tribal colleges, but all of Indian education. Indian people are now experiencing a new era of Indian education. The 1970s gave us many new concepts of Indian education, more acts were passed for assisting Indian education, and Indian education experienced a great deal of support this past decade. Now, the pendulum is swinging in the opposite direction again for Indian people and we again will need to begin our work to keep what we do have in the 1980s.

The Education Commission of the States just completed a report entitled INDIAN EDUCATION: INVOLVEMENT OF FEDERAL, STATE AND TRIBAL GOVERNMENTS. This was the result of a major study during 1979-1980 in five states, including Oklahoma and Montana. This study made some major recommendations to tribes, state legislatures, governors, state boards of education, local education agencies, colleges and universities, parents, students, and to ECS itself. I believe these recommendations should be utilized by Indian education programs in their continued work to meet the needs of Indian children and adults. Following are some of these recommendations:

TO TRIBES:

- Develop educational philosophies, codes, and policies on Indian education.
- Develop stronger roles for tribal communities and parents,and exert more influence on public schools within the reservation and/or Indian community.
- Become more actively involved in the state political process, particularly with the state legislature.

TO STATE LEGISLATURES:

- Consider state financial support for alternative Indian education programs and tribally-controlled community colleges.
- Provide state appropriations for bilingual and bicultural programs that Indian children need.

TO GOVERNORS:

- Appoint Indians to state boards of education, boards of regents for higher education, and to other educational boards.
- Use the prestige of their offices to support legislation and appropriations for Indian education.
- Be encouraged to hire Indian staff persons.

TO STATE BOARDS AND STATE EDUCATION AGENCIES:

- Place Indian culture courses in the curriculum for all students.
- Promote and improve communication channels with tribes and Indian parents.
- Place Indians in education policy-making positions.
- Establish a state-funded Indian Education Office.

TO LOCAL EDUCATION AGENCIES:

- Recognize and reflect the unique cultural and academic needs of Indian children, developing specialized programs to meet those needs.
- Learn and understand the unique federal-Indian relationship.

TO COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES:

- Accept the existence and legitimacy of tribally-controlled community colleges.
- Accept transfer credits from tribally-controlled community colleges.

TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT:

- Reaffirm its commitment to Indian education.
- Increase federal scholarship and fellowship money for Indian college students.

TO INDIAN PARENTS:

- Recognize and practice educational support, reinforcement, and motivation for their children to remain in school.

TO INDIAN STUDENTS:

- Accept the responsibility for their own education.
- We must use the power of the vote. We need to get people registered to vote and to the polls on election day. Our numbers are limited, but we can make impact locally in school elections, county elections and let our views be known through voting. Get people registered to vote and make sure they get to the polls.
- We have to become experts in the field of legislation. Too often we wait until it is too late to have our input into legislative matters.

- We need to teach our children of their rights and responsibilities as Indian people. I believe many of us have wanted changes overnight, but have come to the realization that it will take many years and some of us won't see these changes in our lifetime. It is our children who we are doing the work for and who will carry on.
- We must become involved locally. Serve on committees, volunteer for services, run for public offices, and support the tribal councils. The tribes are the power of the Indian people and we have to keep them strong.

BIA EDUCATION UPDATE

Carol Allen-Weston *(Quapaw/Euchee/Cherokee)*

Education Program Administrator, Muskogee Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs; former Dean of Instruction, Haskell Junior College; past President, North American Indian Tennis Association. Resident of Muskogee, Okla.

Ten years ago, after I got my master's degree, I started working for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and I have enjoyed every minute of it. I worked at Seneca Indian School here in Oklahoma, Haskell Indian Junior College in Lawrence, Kans., Flandreau Indian School in South Dakota, and the Phoenix Area Office. I had the opportunity to come to the Muskogee Area Office as Education Program Administrator and I'm finding it a different kind of challenge but one which I enjoy.

Today, I want to give you an idea of the national scope, then inform you some about the Muskogee Area Office and close with suggestions on how I think you can become involved in Indian education.

Two new public laws have been passed in recent years about which you should know if you don't already. They are Public Law 93-638 Indian Self-Determination Act, and 95-561, Indian Education Act. Both are quite significant to Indian education. The Self-Determination Act enables tribes to contract directly with the

Bureau to provide activity to the people. The second one, 95-561, has restructured the chain of command. In the past, the Bureau was directed by the Commissioner. Now, the Assistant Secretary is in charge. The Director of Indian Education, who is Dr. Earl Barlow from Montana, receives his directions from the Assistant Secretary, and Dr. Barlow gives me, in the Area Office, my directions, and I relay them on to the principals who work out in the day schools. The principals have the opportunity now to run the schools' day-to-day operation.

Another part of this law requires that we have school boards. We've had school boards before, but they've been advisory. Now, the school boards have control of the schools. They are in charge of budget, hiring and firing, and developmental policy. School boards could not do that before.

BIA Education thought you might be interested in knowing a few statistics. There are 273,500 students who are Indian, between the ages of 5 and 17. In the schools that are practically all Indian enrollment, which would be our BIA schools, boarding schools and day schools, we have 47,000 students. That's only 17 percent of Indian students. In Indian-controlled schools, or contract schools by the BIA, we have 2,500 students. That's only 1 percent. We have mission schools which have 9,000 students — that's 3 percent. We have public schools that are on or near the reservation and they have 30,000 students, which is 11 percent.

Now public schools that have 50 percent to 90 percent Indian enrollment, those on or near the reservation, have 105,000 students, or 38 percent of the total. Which means, 38 percent of the students are in public schools. We also have public schools that have only 10 percent to 50 percent Indian enrollment and these are usually in small communities or small cities and they have 50,000 which is 18 percent. So, thus far, public schools have 56 percent of the students. Then we have public schools with less than 10 percent enrollment and those are the ones in the large cities. They have 30,000 enrollment, which is 11 percent. So, we account for 67 percent of Indian students that we have here on our list in public schools.

We have eleven area offices and Muskogee is just one of them, so each area has its own unique characteristics about it. Here in the Muskogee area we try to serve what they call the "Five Civilized Tribes." I know a lot of us could argue with that, but these are called the five civilized tribes: Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, Seminole and Creek.

In the Muskogee Area Office we have Sequoyah High School, a famous old school which has been here for a long time. We have about 400 students at Sequoyah and we have Title I monies, Title IV monies and special education monies for it. The Muskogee office also has three schools which serve as dormitories with the students living at the facilities and attending public schools in the towns.

They are Carter Seminary at Ardmore, Eufaula Dormitory at Eufaula, and Jones Academy at Heartshorn.

Also, in the Muskogee Area Office, besides these four schools and working with the school boards, we also have higher education. We provide money through contracts to the tribe or through our office, to 2,000 students to go to college. We also have adult education programs. We have seven contracts with tribes to provide these ABE — Adult Basic Education to adults, and GED programs. We service about 1,000 Indian adults every year in that program. We also have a Johnson-O'Malley contract and we get our money from Washington for JOM. Then we have a contract with the State of Oklahoma. They provide services to Indian students that we provide services for through our JOM contract.

I think all of us need to get involved in Indian education. I think that in the Bureau and in any education project we need people who are involved in special education. There are a lot of jobs out there for people who are trained in special education. So, if you're trying to make a career choice or decision, I can recommend special education to you because there are jobs out there and students who could use your special talents.

The other thing we need people to do for Indian people is to become involved in social development activities. We need people who care and can counsel with people and work with Indian people. I know one of the things I would like to see done in Bureau schools: I would like to see more work and more people trained in teaching people the social graces of the day. I can remember my parents, who went to boarding school, talk about how they had table mates, and all this kind of stuff. We've gotten away from that and it seems like young people today sometimes have forgotten the manners, or haven't been taught the manners, and we need people to begin to work in social development of our young people. I've always maintained , and I could be wrong, that if we can talk and communicate with somebody, that's half of our battle. But if we speak a language different than theirs and they don't understand us, that's where the problems begin. So I think if we can start working on communication and social development, we'll be far better off.

The other area that we need people to work with us on is Indian heritage. It should never die. If you have special talents in that area and can volunteer to work at schools, or would like to get paid for it, there are jobs out there for people who work in Indian culture and Indian tradition.

Another thing you can do for Indian young people, and it would help the Bureau, also, is to attend tribal meetings. Talk about education; be an education supporter. If you know children who are out of school, talk to them personally. Try to get them into school. Try to find a school where they can be happy and succeed. If you don't know the students personally but you know they are out of school, contact agencies, contact the schools, contact people who can get these students into school.

Today, we have students who go to boarding schools because they want to be with Indians, because they want to see how other Indians live and what goes on. Nowadays parents have the choice of sending them to Bureau schools. In the day when my parents went, the only way you could get there was if you didn't have a mother or father, or you were very poor. Times have changed. If parents decide they want their kids to go to a Bureau school, they can go to any Bureau school they want. That means Phoenix Indian School, Inter-mountain Indian School, Chemawa Indian School in Oregon. They can go to Choctaw Central in Mississippi; they can come to Sequoyah High school; they can go anywhere you want them to go. There are spaces out there — there are schools that can provide the kind of emphasis you want your children to have. So, I would encourage any children, whether they be yours or anybody else's, that there are opportunities available. And we would be glad to work with them and accept them into our schools.

I guess all I wanted to impart to you today is that there are things happening on the national scene. Become involved. There are things happening in your local area, in the area that you come from, and you need to get involved with those education committees and tribal committees and get things rolling and going the way you think they ought to go.

SERVICES OF INDIAN EDUCATION ACT CENTERS

Mary Ann Brittan *(Choctaw)*

Staff member, Native American Research Institute; Officer, Oklahoma Advisory Council for Indian Education; screenwriter and curriculum contributions to visual aid productions. Resident of Norman, Okla.

I am a Choctaw, I am from Oklahoma, I am a senior research and management specialist with the Native American Research Institute. As such, I'd like to share with you the philosophy of NARI and its sister organization, Native American Associates. There are two organizations, the Associates and the Institute. In the fifth year of

operation, NARI is an Indian-owned, Indian-controlled, and Indian-operated private consulting firm based in Lawrence, Kans. There are several women sitting on the boards of the Native American Associates and the Native American Institute. We have satellite offices in Norman, Okla., Washington, D.C., Santa Fe, N. Mex., and Minneapolis, Minn. Our stated objective is to assist American Indian tribes and Alaskan and Hawaiian Natives in improving their current programs and services and in achieving independence.

Our efforts include working with the federal, regional, and state and local agencies that directly impact Indians and Indian organizations. Being an educator and an Indian woman, I do appreciate the philosophy of NARI and the opportunities that are made available to Indian women who are interested in the field of education. Through this kind of organization we are able to experience professional growth and to work with other Indian men and women who are committed to playing some roles that will be of benefit to American Indian communities.

In the pursuit of these objectives NARI responded to the U.S. Education Department, Office of Indian Education, request for proposal to contract for the operation of the Indian Education Act Resource and Evaluation Center V. NARI was awarded the contract and operates the center in Norman, Okla. Our center serves Title IV grantees and potential grantees in the Region V states of Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana, Kansas, Missouri and Arkansas. Last month we were also assigned to service the three additional states of Minnesota, Wisconsin and Iowa.

Within these nine states which Center V now serves, there are presently 431 grantees who operate Title IV programs which are there to provide better educational opportunities. I'd like to delineate those for you.

In the part A section, which is for Indian students in public schools, there is one project in Arkansas, six in Kansas, seven in Louisiana, one in Missouri, 279 in Oklahoma, and five in Texas.

Then in the discretionary portion of Title IV (in the Parts B and C projects in this region) there are, in Part B, five in Oklahoma and two in Texas. In Part C, Adult Education, there are four projects in Oklahoma and one in Texas, making a total of about 310 in this southwest region, with an additional 121 in the three northern states.

The projects range in scope and design from adult education programs through early childhood programs and include special educational services for meeting remediation and enrichment, equal opportunity and culturally related academic needs. The re-

cipients include public schools or local educational authorities (LEAs), Indian tribes and Indian organizations, Indian-controlled schools and institutions of higher learning.

At present there are four resource centers operating in the United States. Title IV hasn't felt the budget cuts as heavily as some other educational programs have. Title IV will be operating on about the same money it did last year. Center I is located in Washington, D.C. and it's also operated by the Native American Research Institute. A lot of you are probably acquainted with the director at Center I. She is an Oklahoma Indian woman who has achieved a lot of prominence in Washington, D.C. with the Administration for Native Americans' program. She is Gwen Shunatona.

Center III is located in Seattle, Wash., and is operated by the United Indians of All Tribes Foundation. It is also directed by a woman, Joyce Reyes. Center IV is located in Tempe, Ariz., and is operated by the National Indian Training and Research Center. It is directed by Jim Shanley. Center II was formerly operated by the Coalition of Indian-Controlled School Boards in Great Falls, Mont. But the Center II contract was terminated at the convenience of the federal government and the Region II states it serviced were then divided among Center III and Center V and that is how we came to be servicing Minnesota, Wisconsin and Iowa.

As you have noted, I'm sure, two of the Center directors are Indian women and each Center employs an equitable number of Indian professional women in professional positions. Our Center has the distinction of being the only Center that is 100 percent Indian-staffed. It is directed by Stewart Tonemah, an Oklahoma Kiowa/Comanche, who was elected by NIEA this last year as the Outstanding Indian Educator of the Year. Our staff includes seven Indian professionals in education: Jerry Bread, who is Kiowa/Cherokee; Suzanne Weryackwe, a Choctaw/Pawnee; Carol Butler, a Kiowa/Caddo; Richard Allen, Cherokee; and Sonny Glass, a Cherokee/Seneca/Quapaw/Cayuga. Mary Lane, Osage, and Roy Taylor, Choctaw/Pawnee, are research assistants and Mary Ann Carney, Choctaw/Chickasaw, is the executive assistant secretary. I can't say enough about the staff and what a joy it is to work there.

I'd like to stop for a moment and look at the question "Why do these resource centers exist?" During the eight years since the Indian Education Act of 1972 was enacted, concern has grown nationwide regarding the effective operation of the Title IV projects and the subsequent lack of effective training and technical assistance for grantees. Additionally, the Office of Indian Education and Congress, in turn, came to realize that there was really very little hard data on the impact that these programs had and

were making. We all know that good things are happening but we just haven't yet been able to get the message to Congress in the words that they want to hear. Some questions being asked were:

- Is the intent of the law being met?
- Are monies directly affecting Indian people and benefiting Indian people?
- Are the funds supplementing and not supplanting basic school programs?
- Are Indian parents and Indian communities actively involved in the education of their children?

These are basic questions. This Act was signed into law as Title IV of Public Law 92-318 — the Education Amendments of 1972. It is a Congressional Declaration of Policy in recognition of the special educational needs of Indian people in the United States. The Act provides for financial assistance to meet these special educational needs. The office of Indian Education is responsible for administering the Act and is responsible for interpreting the rules and regulations for Part A, B, and C of Title IV. I say that because people are often led astray if they think that Resource Centers can interpret the law or that state Indian education administrators can interpret the law. No one can interpret the law but the attorneys in the Office of Indian Education. Resource Centers cannot and do not interpret rules and regulations and neither are they designated as compliance agencies. They are designed as training and technical assistance centers. The Education Amendment of 1978, Public Law 95-561, amended Part B of the Indian Education Act to give the Secretary of Education authority to establish these regional information centers. Networks, if you will. And I say that because I hope you will, if you're not involved in Title IV, not feel that you are excluded from involvement in these Resource Centers because they are a form of network and they are there for you to use in various ways.

The Centers are in place and they have been operating since September, 1980. They are presently authorized for two more years. So what, specifically, are we required to do? To render training and technical assistance to grantees, parent committees, advisory boards, Indian-controlled school boards, in the specific areas of: project design, project management, and project evaluation. We are not evaluators. We do not go into projects and evaluate them. We do provide the training to help you become expert in evaluation so that when you are evaluated you will have learned to collect your data, analyze your data, and be able to respond to and work with an outside evaluator.

How are these services rendered? Well, "We do for free what others do for a fee." That's just a handy slogan which underlines

the fact that there are no fees charged for Center services. As parents and educators involved in Title IV education, you are eligible to receive Center services if you need them.

You are invited to share your expertise with the Centers; we do use a good many consultants; we do publish a newsletter. If you are needing to spread the word of something in Indian education and you think a newsletter that reaches nine states would help you out, submit your article, or give us a call. Our services are rendered by correspondence, telephone consultation, on-site training sessions, and regional workshops. We have presented six regional workshops to date in Oklahoma and Lawrence, Kans., and we'll be going to Dallas next month. We have also given them in three regional areas of Oklahoma and we will be doing workshops in Minnesota, Wisconsin and Iowa.

Services and training sessions are designed to meet the needs of administrators, project personnel, parent committee members, and advisory board members. In that training we do stress ways of capacity building to try to get more people involved and more effectively involved in the education of their children.

I want to start spreading a word of caution because I see it happening. I saw it as a Title IV director — in fact, I lived it. But I can't say enough about it when I see it happening to staff members, the Indian staff members and in the Indian parent committee members splitting/fighting each other and neglecting the program and children because of that. Sometimes I wonder if it's not some master plan but please, if you are involved in that, as a staff person or as a parent committee person, try to remember when you do have disagreements that you want to deal with them professionally, you want to work out the steps that are necessary! Sit down and talk — put things down in writing, set up procedures, keep files, read your rules and regulations — abide by them and try not to let your personal concerns override your professional concerns and your interests in the Indian children that are in your schools.

Another service provided by the Center is the dissemination of information. Quarterly newsletters and workshop agendas are sent to all grantees and parent committee chairpersons, as well as to all tribes and Indian organizations in the region. On-site day or evening training sessions may be scheduled by contacting the Center. Additional on-site visits will be scheduled to every grantee by the end of the second year of operation. We'll go to half of them this year, the other half next year. So if you are interested in being on our mailing list, you can leave me your name or contact the Center and ask to be put on our mailing list.

Indian Education Act training materials are continually being developed at all Resource Centers. These materials are cleared

through OIE and are disseminated at workshops and on request, by mail. There are presently not only materials about management, design and evaluation, but also materials about gifted and talented Indian programs, culturally related resources, testing, information on educational funding sources, information on Title IV rules and regulations, and parent committee training.

I would encourage each of you to take advantage of the assistance that is there for you at the Resource Center in your region. If I'm sounding optimistic, it's because there's finally a system whereby Indians on the local level can get information assistance which is also coordinated through the Office of Indian Education. What I'm trying to say is that we're all attempting to say the same thing. How many times, in dealing with rules and regs and Washington offices and specialists, have you gotten so many different stories that you don't quite know who's saying what. The effort is nationwide to coordinate all the materials so that everybody *is* saying the same thing. It may be impossible, but that is the goal.

Indian women have always been involved in the education of our people from the cradle board to the mortarboard and on into the end of life. All of us are educators whether we have a bachelor's, a master's, a doctorate, or a school of hard knocks degree. There are more Indian professionals in education than in any other professional field, and even though we are being teased a lot about there being so many women in Indian education, we know that the educational needs of Indian people are still not being met and we know we can strive to meet those needs on every level. We've got to be more involved as role models because we can impact the education system. There's still a lack of Indian women educators on all levels and the door is still open for involvement in Indian education. And we get something from it too. We get the opportunity to gain the knowledge that can benefit us as Indian women, parents, parent committee members, council members, counselors, advisors, coordinators, researchers, writers, scholars, and teachers. We can be instrumental in fortifying and giving direction to those programs that are striving to meet the educational needs of Indian people. Our future really does depend on it.

We've heard it before, but we don't want to forget it, knowledge is a form of power. It is the kind of power that is needed to strengthen Indian education across the nation. The Centers exist to provide that kind of knowledge — knowledge that reinforces the universal Indian vision of self-determination, cultural preservation, and educational equity for all Indian people.

TITLE IV AT THE DELIVERY LEVEL

Delores Twohatchet *(Kiowa/Comanche)*

Former Director, Indian Student Services, Title IV-A, Lawton Public Schools; Board, Advisory Committee for Institute for the Development of Indian Law. Resident of Lawton, Okla.

The Indian Education Act was signed into law on June 23, 1972. The act created educational opportunities for Indian children. It provided federal funding in education over and above the limited funds appropriated annually for Indian education programs in the Office of Education and Bureau of Indian Affairs. It helped to close the gap which existed between Indian education and federal education levels of the United States.

In Lawton, the school board and everybody is really uptight because we are losing our impact aid money. I'm glad to hear that Title IV didn't lose any of their money but it scares me because I know from experience that a lot of the school districts are going to be trying to take advantage of our Indian education money in that they are going to be supplanting.

There are five parts. Part A is financial assistance to local education agencies. This is money that is given to Indian students who are in public schools. (These are the types of programs that I've been working with.)

Part B is for special programs and projects to improve educational opportunites for Indian children. These are mostly tribal organizations and preference is given to tribal organizations. Part C is special programs relating to Adult Ed. Part D is the creation of the Office of Indian Education and the position of the Deputy Commissioner and also NACIE, the National Advisory Council on Indian Education, which oversees Title IV. Part E is miscellaneous provisions which provide teacher training for Indians.

Active legislative preparation for the Act began in 1967 when the late Senator Robert Kennedy chaired the Indian Education Subcommittee under the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Later, Senator Edward Kennedy actively pursued the tragic story on Indian education, holding hearings across the na-

tion. Some of you may have been involved in those hearings. They came at a time before Johnson-O'Malley was really given to a lot of the school districts. I know when I was in high school we had JOM — we didn't even know JOM had existed since 1934, but at that time they were buying school buses and everything else with Johnson-O'Malley funds.

The final report for Title IV was issued in November of 1969. Hearings continued in April and May of 1971. After all the testimony, the final hearings were held in January, 1972. However, even though Congress passes a law, it doesn't necessarily guarantee that actual funds will be available. So each year funding must be decided and approved by Congress. What local school districts do with the funds when it reaches them is represented in a variety of programs based on needs identified for specific Indian communities. (A lot of you are probably already aware of this since you are serving on Indian education committees.) Since a number of problems are prevalent in Indian communities, both rural and urban areas, many programs address the needs of culturally related drop-outs, providing teacher training and sensitivity. They also address higher education opportunities, tutorial programs, remedial instruction in basic skill areas, home/school liaison services, creative arts as related to the culture of Native language arts, and parental cost assistance.

When I was a director one of the main need areas identified was that of Indian counselors. One thing we had to be sure of with the State Department of Education was that we couldn't call our counselors "counselors" on paper. We called them "coordinators." Anytime you call a counselor "counselor" in public schools, they have to have credentials — a master's degree. And anytime anybody works with children in a public school, they have to do so under the direct supervision of a certified person. You can still do the things you need to do. It's just a matter of wording properly. Sometimes they'll send you back your proposal and all you have to do is change a word or two here and there, but you can still meet the needs that you have identified in the community.

Many of these projects have been in existence since the initial funding and have seen students experience success because of the support services provided by Title IV programs. I went over a report which was done by the Education Commission on the States. I want to cite some of the random samplings as examples.

- In Minneapolis, Minn., they have Title IV social worker aides to counsel, assist and tutor Indian students.
- Great Falls, Mont., has Title IV home-school coordinators who work closely with Indian students to help keep the children in school.

- Tulsa, Okla. public schools have a counseling and tutoring program that concentrates on a rural student moving into the urban environment and academic setting.
- The Oneida Tribal School in Wisconsin has developed an entire curriculum by Indian people. Their statistics show an improved attendance rate because students feel good about themselves. In only the second year of operation, they are showing really good results.
- The Red School House in St. Paul, Minn. was founded by the American Indian Movement to counter problems of public school students and help instill pride and self-confidence in the Indian students. At one time Lawton Public Schools provided services to Ft. Sill Indian School students who were housed at the school and attended public schools. Most of these students were those identified as students who would be able to go to college and those needing to have the challenge of a regular public school setting.
- The Blackfeet Heritage Program, sponsored by the Browning Public Schools, developed Blackfeet curriculum materials. In 1978, under Title IV, 260 Indian students received fellowships for tuition and other financial needs at various colleges and universities for undergraduate and graduate programs of medicine, law, forestry, business and other professions.
- The EPIC program at Tahlequah is Education Professionals for Indian Children. It is designed to improve the delivery of education services to Indian students through teacher preparation and certification.

Title IV programs can and do work, but it takes community involvement, involvement from your school district, administrators, from your Indian parents and students. I want to emphasize positive involvement because there are many ways that we can be put to work. The programs that work are those which have total involvement from identifying specific needs that must be addressed, developing programs to meet those needs, and managing the project to get the desired outcome. Title IV programs can be a blessing or they can be a curse. They can build solidarity among different tribes within a community or they can cause a greater split than tribalism does. Title IV programs can compete with JOM programs or they can work cooperatively to meet even more needs of even more students. The outcome depends on us as Indian people to ensure that our children derive the most of that which they are entitled to by law.

Leadership Development Workshop

Moderator:	Ada Deer
Facilitator:	Carol Young
Panelist:	Billie Nave Masters

MOBILIZING TO WIN

Ada Deer *(Menominee)*

Lecturer, School of Social Work and Office of Native American Programs, University of Wisconsin at Madison; formerly Native American Rights Fund Legislative Liaison, Washington, D.C.; former Chair, Menominee Tribe; largely responsible for pushing through an Act of Congress in 1973 to restore Menominees to tribal status following 1954 "termination"; provides Indian presence to many national boards.

My topic here is "Mobilizing to Win." I'd like to talk briefly with you on the two major campaigns I was involved in: the Menominee Restoration Campaign and the Wisconsin Secretary of State race.

Let me say that this all starts with ourselves — within ourselves — our own attitude and our own determination. I started thinking of the time when I became aware of the tribe and my responsibility to it. It was a growing thing. When I was in 8th grade I started going to the tribal meetings of the men. I was an 8th grade student sitting there with all the men. They kind of tolerated me and let me sit there. I didn't know anything about parliamentary procedure or any of the other things, but they let me come, and over a period of time I became very interested. Somewhere in the back of my mind I got the idea that I wanted to help and I wanted to be involved. I didn't know exactly what this would mean, but it was strengthened when I was the only person to win the tribal scholarship to attend college.

At that time we didn't have the number of scholarships that are available today. There was only one tribal scholarship; there were seven of us who, as high school graduates, took the test. I got the highest mark; I won. I was very sorry that some of the others didn't have the opportunity at that time to go to school although later on some of them did.

And so I felt a great obligation to repay the tribe for the opportunity to go to college. The Menominee Termination Act occurred in 1954 — it was finalized in 1961. Some of you may not know what termination is. I commend this book to you: FREEDOM WITH RESERVATION. Termination was a cultural, economic and political disaster. Our people are still recovering from this.

When termination occurred our people were no longer eligible for federal services, we were no longer a federally recognized tribe, the rolls were closed, our land became subject to taxation, we had no health services, no educational scholarships, nothing. It was a terrible, terrible feeling. There was this feeling of helplessness and powerlessness among our people.

In 1969, I came back to Wisconsin after spending many years in Minnesota. By this time I had a master's degree and ten years' experience. I started going to some tribal meetings and then I started looking into this matter of termination and how it was affecting the Menominees. The more I found out, the angrier I got. So, I decided to do something about it. There were other people along the way also, who felt it was important to do something about it.

We started meeting with a few of the people. We decided the first thing we needed was a lawyer. In Indian affairs you often need a lawyer. You have to get a good lawyer. I wish I had time to go into this, but the main point I want to emphasize to you about lawyers and professional people is that you as Indian people need to make the decisions. Don't let those non-Indians make decisions for you. You have to have confidence in yourself, you have to care about what the particular issue is, and you have to forge ahead. Many times people will tell you what you can't do. I think that's a double burden on us as Indians and as women. Because they're not accustomed to clear, determined thinking.

The more I thought about the suffering of the people — I could see the loss of the land — other people did, too, but they didn't know what to do about it. Well, I went to social work school to bring about social change and the opportunity to work with my tribe was the best example of how to put skills to use.

To make a long story short, we accomplished it. And I tell you that if we as Menominees, a very small tribe of people, could ac-

complish what we did — any tribe should be able to do anything they want. It seemed like an impossible task to get a piece of legislation through the U.S. Congress, *the* government, senators, congressmen, etc. But, nevertheless, we mobilized our resources, we talked to the press people, we talked to other people, the League of Women Voters, Common Cause, church groups, etc. I'm only briefly summarizing the kinds of efforts that were necessary to bring this about.

We didn't do this by ourselves. We got excellent help from a number of groups and individuals. But it had to start somewhere — within myself, within a number of other people we worked with — and over a period of time we got a real movement of people among our tribe — the Drums Movement.

I feel that over the years many people have identified the Menominee restoration with me as an individual but I want to emphasize that you can't do this by yourself; you have to have the movement of people. On the other hand, there has to be a focus for an effort. If you're the focus for the effort, then you have to be willing to pay the price for this. And in a way I had been developing all my life to get involved and to take part in this restoration.

Now I had never been a lobbyist — I didn't know that much about Washington, but nevertheless, that's what had to be done, so I quit law school, went to Washington, became the lead person there, although we had many of our people coming in and testifying, etc.

Over the years, in terms of leadership, you have to speak up, you have to speak out, you have to be willing to pay the price. And I decided it was worth the price I had to pay both personally and professionally. I had wanted to go to law school for a long time. In 1961, I had wanted to go; in 1971, I got myself in, but I decided tribal affairs were more important. So I quit, but I'm still thinking about it. Nevertheless, in terms of personal price, I let three men go down the tube. I'm not so sure I'm going to let the next one go!

I was involved with the tribe from 1969 to 1976 and with the whole restoration movement, becoming chair of the restoration committee, getting a new tribal constitution and bylaws, getting a tribal health clinic set up, getting the whole governmental structure set up. When I resigned in 1976 people said, "How can you leave? How can you give up all that power?" I'd like to say that as a politician you have to know when to quit. I decided to quit when I was ahead. Also, I'm a social worker and I am interested in creating independence, not fostering dependence. And I think we have to be very conscious of this as we work with our people.

We're too accustomed to having the BIA, missionaries, and other people telling us what to do. It takes some strength, some asser-

tiveness, and some determination on our part to overcome this.

Well, with all this publicity and so on, my name got thrown around in the papers and besides, I associate with a lot of other groups, too, besides Indians. I got real involved in the political process.

Then came the campaign for Secretary of State. Getting involved in the political process — I think if you want to bring about change — you want to improve your communities — you have to get involved in the political process. I want to urge all of you to join the political party of your choice. As far as I'm concerned, Indian affairs are bipartisan problems. Everyone was involved in creating them, everyone needs to be involved in solving them. I'd like to have some political participation in all the parties. I happen to be very involved in the Democratic Party. One of the problems in the Republican Administration is that they have a very hard time identifying a number of qualified Republican Indians. So, I invite you all to think about this.

It wasn't really in my mind that I would be running for Secretary of State. But I also think we have to keep our minds and ourselves open to opportunity. I had been very involved with the Democratic Party, I had gotten to know all the politicians there during our restoration process. I actually did go to the state office one day asking how we could get arrangements for Indian people to set up a table and do all of those things. And we were just kind of talking, then one of the officers asked why didn't I run for office. I said, "Listen, I've got other things — that's really not on my agenda." She said, "No, I think you ought to run for office." At that point there were a couple of other people who had announced. It actually sounded like fun — I said I'd think about it for a couple of days — then I said, "Okay, I'll do it."

It was very interesting running for statewide office. I didn't have to start right from the bottom; some of the people knew my name; there were a number of people that were willing to help. I had a very interesting campaign. Didn't have a lot of money, couldn't afford a media campaign, but I went to gates at 5 o'clock in the morning, I went to various other plants in the evenings, ran across the state in my little old vintage Indian car which managed to hold together, and got some good press. We got a lot of support. I'm very happy to state that out of a group of nine people running in the Democratic primary, I came in second. It was interesting that in Wisconsin where there's a very small minority population, a black woman lawyer, Vel Philips, was first — she won — and I came in second. I'm still trying to decide what my future is going to be. I like to have options. So, that's one possibility.

Going from leadership in the Indian community to a statewide

effort was not exactly in my plan, but nevertheless, it's exciting, it's interesting, and that is a distinct possibility.

One of our workshop leaders for this conference is Rosalie Whelan. The reason I got involved with Rosalie and the Women's Education Campaign Fund, was because in 1978, according to the research they had done, I was the only Indian woman in the lower 48 states who had run for statewide office. Many of you are from Oklahoma, Arizona and New Mexico and there are a lot of Indian voters out there. I'd like to see other people running for office over a period of time — soon. You can come and attend training sessions and get involved. As a matter of fact, I think oftentimes we forget that there are a lot of people out there who are in favor of some of our projects and programs and will support us.

So get to work!

LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

Billie Nave Masters *(Cherokee)*

Supervisor, Office of Teacher Education, University of California, Irvine; Presidential Appointee, President's Advisory Committee for Women; NIE Delegate, International Teachers Conference to Combat Racism, Anti-Semitism and Violation of Human Rights held in Tel Aviv, 1980; chaired American Indian-Alaska Native Caucus, IWY Houston Conference.

I want to spend my time with you talking about leadership development in a personal way. As we think and talk about leadership, it is evident that leadership is many things. Many different things to different people. And also different according to the task or activity. Oftentimes what we call leadership and what is recognized and acceptable as leadership within our tribes does not get us the same results nor same success as we begin to move out into the world and into the larger society. Indian women experience something called "double jeopardy," if not triple or more. We have the impression of what White males think of Indian women. We have

the impression of what White women think of Indian women. And we also have the impression of what our own tribes feel an Indian woman should be. And then to complicate that more, we have what other tribes think an Indian woman should be. When you go to urban areas or when you go to areas where you mix with other tribes and you sit down with a Sioux man, he will have very different ideas about what an Indian woman is than a Cherokee man, or an Osage man. And when you sit down with a Hopi man, he assumes a woman will get up and speak because he is from a matriarchal tribe where all people do whatever is being done. So, with the different tribes you have different expectations and different judgements that encourage you or bind you. They make your ability to work and function vary from situation to situation. Today we will give some thought to those things.

Let's think about a leader — what is a leader — and then think about the Indian nations as we went from warfare to enforced welfare now for six or more generations. It does change the way we answer. It changes the way we feel and speak when we talk to our children. It changes the way we view the world around us. It is a truth that the fewer chances a person has to solve her/his own personal problems, the fewer times they will try to solve their own problems. What that means to us is that if we have resources to solve our problems, usually when a problem arises, we will try to solve it. If we have not noticed that people around us have the resources to solve problems, when a problem arises, we assume we can't do anything about it — that we can't solve it and no effort is made. So, when we are observing, when we are talking at home and we are saying things like, "Gee, you know, we've got to go down to the BIA and see when that program is going to start." Or, "We really need something done. We'd better write a proposal and see if the government would do that for us." "We'd better go down to the Agency and see if we can do that." That kind of talk means that we're not doing it ourselves, that we don't feel we can do it ourselves. Our children hear that. Our children hear the fact that, "Gee, you know, as powerful as my mom and dad are, they can't solve any problems — they can't make things happen." So they don't feel they can make things happen. The circle begins to perpetuate itself, it begins to affect the actions of our children.

There was an Indian man who said that a startling thing happened to him. He, a member of the California Intertribal Council, was sitting one day with his little boy who said, "You know, I don't have to really go to school because we got land payments coming." And, he said, he remembered when he was a little boy hearing his grandfather tell his father that soon they'd be getting land payments. And he said that hit him like a ball bat. There he sat — he heard his grandfather say, "We've got to wait on land payments"

and now he was hearing his little boy say he was waiting on land payments for the tribe — four generations. He said, "I packed up my bag and went home. And I went home to solve my own problems. I wasn't going to pass that on. I wasn't going to make another generation sit there and say, 'When do we get land payments?'"

We hear those things; you have heard those things. These are the hard things to deal with as we influence our young. So let's assume that we are going to do something, we're going to make things happen. We're going to take the charge Indian women had in the tribal days when we lived, loved, laughed, cried and played and died across the continent as we enjoyed this land, as we defined ourselves and lived as we chose. When the charge of every Indian woman was first she fulfilled her biological role to produce life — the greatest of all power. Second, she fulfilled her kinship role. She modeled what it was to be a mother, a daughter, a sister, a niece, an aunt, a grandmother, and fulfilled those roles. Then she was free to do whatever she chose: tribal leader, healer, warrior, whatever she wanted to be. But every decision she would make throughout her lifetime, behind every thought and action she would make from the time she was a small child, she was taught she must make that decision in order to protect unto seven generations, to assure that the unborn child unto seven generations would not be denied anything that was provided today. To teach the young child how to respect and protect the earth, how to live and to teach the small child to never take the first and never take the second from nature, but only to take the third. In that way nothing that was placed on this earth by the Creator would be taken from the earth by your hand because that was the greatest of all wrongs. It didn't matter if it was an herb, a squirrel, a deer, a rabbit, you never took the first nor the second, but only the third. In that way you would never take the last of anything from this earth. It was the teaching that protected the earth.

There are many people — many old people who will tell you that until the woman was undermined by the Europeans this continent was not conquered. The strength and power of the women first had to be undermined to weaken the tribes. The male-dominance mentality of Europe had to be taught to the Indian male. If you think about all of the rites where Indian men perform ceremonies to gain power, traditionally, the Indian woman doesn't. That is because the power of the Indian woman was viewed as an awesome power — power to give life. The Indian woman was viewed as so powerful that when she got her menstrual cycle, she had such power that she was isolated — to look at her was to weaken your power. Men that looked upon a woman during her cycle, during her fertility time of immense power, could no longer shoot or hunt. Their arrows would be led astray because they had looked on a greater power.

Indian men did many things to seek power such as the Sun Dance, the seeking of visions to gain power. Women did not have to do those things. If a woman saw a vision, if a woman became visionary, if a woman was favored by the Creator in giving healing power or knowledge of herbs, she was just exalted farther. The ability to give life, the protector of life, was sufficient power. We think about the Indian woman historically and traditionally, as we look at the legends and the influence — all things in the Indian world are in recognition to the giver of life, the Indian woman. The Mother Earth is round, the sweat lodge is round, the Osage roundhouse, the entrance of life, all in recognition and honor of the woman. Look at any of the Indian origin stories. Who is the giver of life? The woman. That is as it should be. The White Buffalo Calf Woman of the Sioux. The Cherokee — the woman came out of the mist and with her she brought life. The Kiowa — the woman came up from the center of the earth and with her came the people. The woman — the giver of life.

And so today we find ourselves in a situation very interesting where we live in a society that prays to a male as giver of life. As we live and work within the dominant society, our traditional society, our women, are still protecting — we still teach our children, we still teach the culture, we still protect our knowledge and pass it to the next generation. The situation we find too often today is the women alone protecting the household. Sixty-seven percent of some tribes are female heads-of-households living below the poverty level. Today we are at a time of new directions, we are at a time of defining leadership in the things we need to assure success. When you think about the laws, the teachings today and what is demanded of us, we are basically influenced, if not formed by people that didn't have our best interests at heart. People that didn't really care about us as a people put thoughts and ideas in our heads. As we have accepted too much from Sunday school teachers, teachers, from neighbors, things we heard on the street; have you ever driven to the supermarket and someone gets out of the car, two cars down from yours, and says, "Here's an Indian car." You turn back and look at your car and say, "How did she know that was an Indian car?" Then you go over and look at their car. Then you look at your car. I remember hearing people say things like that. I remember teachers calling Indian parents and saying, "Your children are having problems. How do you train your children? How come they are different than ours?" And I used to look and try to see how they were different than us.

When we look at these things and when we think about these things we make judgments — sometimes they are right, sometimes they are wrong. Sometimes they are real problems, sometimes they are perceived problems. But you get a habit of looking at all

those things as problems, Indian problems. Soon you have a set of ideas concerning many things, you have a set of values. These values cause you to respond in a certain way. They cause you to talk a certain way. And you've brought into your beliefs a lot of things you have never really thought about. And some things you hadn't thought about at all. You think about the way the woman is talked about in our society and you look at all the ways society speaks of a woman. The society that we live in now — the dominant society. You have to look at all the ways.

Let's see what are some words for woman: *she*, wo*man*, hu*man*, per*son*, *man*agement, *lady*, f*emale*. But if you look at all these words they refer to a woman in our society — all of them address woman as an addendum. All of these words are an addendum to a male word. We're add-ons. How is a woman treated in today's society? As an add-on. To get any social services you have to be someone's mother or someone's wife. Can a single woman get any services? No. You have to be attached to someone else as a mother, wife, or minor daughter. The woman alone does not deserve housing, food, clothing, or sometimes, raises. You have to be attached. As an individual, you don't count. That's a very serious threat to one half our population.

So you begin to look at the way this society looks at people. How do they talk about people? And what kinds of things are available for who? Because that is the way we talk, that is the way we think. And you can sit in a classroom in the United States all day, day after day, 180 days of the year, and you can hear a teacher or a principal or a counselor or anyone in that school district teach and talk and they will never say "she," they will never say "her." If you only listen, you could think that America was a White, male only, nation. The brain is a very unique thing: how we talk is how we think.

When someone says, "We're going to talk today about how the West was lost." That's very different from saying, "We're going to talk today in class about how the West was won." That is an entirely different view of how the nation happened to form. When you say, "all this red tape." That's obviously white tape. It's not red tape. When the government says "this is a white paper." You know what a white paper is? The *real* paper. And you look at all the uses of color in our society. Do you know a white lie? We didn't talk like that as Indian people.

Indian people, when they said a prayer, said, "Giver of life, Creator." God doesn't have a gender. Giver of Life, Great Spirit, or Creator. How you talk is how you think. How you think is how you address your actions, your interests. You can't separate yourself from that. It is very important to know how you view yourself and

how you see your world.

Imagine with me that this is your brain, right here is a little window and by this little window there sits a little person. He's not smart, he's not creative, he's not very bright. He just sits there and he does exactly what you tell him. Nothing else. So imagine yourself saying, "Well, I can't lose weight because I can't avoid eating sugar or chocolate. I love it." You won't lose any weight. Because this old man is in there. You can tell him you love chocolate and you love sugar and you've got to have a Coke now, and he starts, "Gee, I've got to have a Coke. Bad as it is for me, I've got to have a Coke." Because you just told him you couldn't do without Cokes. So he's going to keep Coke, sugar and chocolate on your mind for you to crave. And he will keep reminding you to be hungry for chocolate, sweet kinds of things. So then as soon as you say, "I can't keep doing this to myself. I care too much about myself. I plan to live to be 120 years old. I'm going to take care of my great-grandchild, I want to stay around and see that this young girl right here does an admirable job when she grows up. I want to see and share the things she contributes back to life and I'm going to watch and I'm going to follow her and her children because she's going to be a great woman warrior. I've got to take care of my body because it has to last me a long time." Then that old man starts making certain changes. You don't think about those Cokes anymore. You say, "I'm too important to do that to my body." And you begin changing and act differently. If you say, "Well, I will try to do that." I say, "Just forget it." And you say, "Well, I said I'd try." I say, "That's not good enough." And you say, "Okay, I'll do it." And I'll say, "Good." Because as soon as you say, "I will do it" you will begin to think that way. Your image of yourself begins to change and you realize that you can do those things. The power of the individual, you, is the greatest of all power.

Role-Model Administrators: Indian Women Who *ARE* Administrators Workshop

Moderator: Shirley Hill Witt
Panelists: Leah Harjo
Pamela Iron
Yvonne Bushyhead
Mary Jo Cole

SOCIAL PROGRAM ADMINISTRATION

Leah Harjo *(Creek/Euchee)*

Director, Indian Women's Alcoholism Program, Dallas Intertribal Center; Chair, Women's Committee of National Indian Board on Alcoholism and Drug Abuse. Dallas, Tex. resident.

I hope to share with you some aspects of program administration. I will do this in the form of telling you a little about the problems we encounter through our program and how it is different from most other programs such as health programs or CETA programs or anything in private industry. I also hope that through my speech I will encourage you to build your self-concept and worth of your self-esteem so that you can accomplish whatever you desire.

Social programs are considered "soft" programs. The results, achievements or products cannot really be measured in concrete terms. For example, an advertising agency may produce X number of ad campaigns and, therefore, make a profit of X number of dollars. A CETA program may place X number of participants in work experience or in OJT (on-the-job-training) slots or may successfully graduate a definite number of participants from classroom training. A health program may see something like 4,000 patients a year or may identify a definite percentage, something like 40 percent to 50 percent of their patients with hypertension or diabetes. But how can an alcoholism treatment program measure

the value of a sober life? One human being's conquest of an addiction. How can you measure a woman's acceptance of loneliness as a part of her life? Her new ability to deal with guilt? Or her gaining a life-coping skill to learn to deal with everyday human problems as opposed to drinking? How can we convince the federal government or other funding agencies that one year of sobriety is a milestone and it could be even a miracle? It's very difficult.

I want to tell you a little bit about the Tribal Concern Program. Tribal Concern was formally established in 1976 through a grant from the Texas Commission on Alcoholism to develop improved methodologies of treatment for Indian women.

First of all we were, and still are, faced with the stigma of the "drunken woman." In the dominant society, drinking is socially acceptable for men and is becoming more acceptable for women. But it's still mostly a man's world. Even the man lying in the streets or sleeping under the bridges is more accepted than a woman drinking. Men *and* women look down on and condemn the woman alcoholic. These are some of the things we hear: "You *know* what kinds of women go down to those bars." "She's slept with every man down there." "Somebody else has to take care of her children." "She's a *bad* woman." "She's an unfit mother."

She is a woman that everybody dumps on. And you know what's really sad, after awhile she begins to believe all that garbage herself. Indian women substance abusers have a terrifically low sense of self-esteem, a low sense of self-worth and almost no self-love.

This is where we begin and this is where we encounter our greatest obstacles. We can only provide individual, group and family counseling on a limited out-patient basis. We have no residential treatment facilities to take the woman out of her current destructive environment and offer her concentrated in-depth treatment. There is only one residential facility for *women*, all women, in Dallas. Our Indian sisters have been unable to relate to their concept of treatment and the attitudes of their White counselors. And they, in turn, have been unable to relate to us.

An Indian woman's primary concern, if she still has custody of her children at that point, is her children. She will not enter treatment for herself for fear she may lose her children and that is a very real and very valid fear. Out-patient counseling, though it may be limited, is where we begin to help an Indian sister to regain and rebuild or, sometimes, for the very first time, build her self-respect and eventually her self-love, thereby benefitting not only herself, but her family. I say this for yesterday we heard that the highest percentage of Indian women are single heads-of-households. Then we must help her not only to care for herself, but also prevent child neglect and physical or emotional abuse to the

children, as well.

This is not an easy task. Nor is it one that takes place overnight. It may even take years, depending upon each woman. We have found that the sensitivity, warmth and nurturing of other caring Indian women as counselors is essential. It also helps if she is a recovering alcoholic herself. The attitudes of other family members is crucial and their love and support is imperative.

What can you and I do as community members? We can educate ourselves about the disease of alcoholism. Yes, it is a disease. Would you turn your back on a sister dying with tuberculosis, diabetes, or cancer? No, I think not. Then we must change our attitudes toward alcoholism and come to realize that it, too, is a disease. We must love and respect ourselves for we cannot love and respect others until we first love and respect ourselves. Then we can be understanding, encouraging and supportive of our Indian women who enter treatment. Only by building our own self-love, self-respect and sense of self-worth can we aspire to whatever we want. Whether it is to be an administrator, an astronaut, whatever we want, we must first start with ourselves.

URBAN HEALTH ADMINISTRATION

Pamela Iron *(Laguna Pueblo)*

Executive Director, Indian Health Care Resource Center, Tulsa, Okla.; contributions to state Equal Rights Amendment advocacy; seminar speaker, "Sex Bias-Role of the American Indian Woman;" authored cross-cultural teachers' handbook.

I have just recently taken an administrative leave from the Indian Health Care Resource Center, which is an out-patient clinic for urban Indians in Tulsa. It is fantastic that my gracious Board of Directors has given me this opportunity to take over a position in St. Paul, Minn. in the national scene of urban Indian health.

The American Indian Health Care Association is a national organization of 41 urban Indian programs throughout the United States. I will, this morning, talk with you a little bit about the administration of this program and also the role I have played in developing myself as an administrator and how I help others to develop these skills.

First of all I'd like to tell you that I am an Okie Laguna Pueblo, as you can tell by my accent. My grandfather was a product of relocation and was sent to Carlisle Institute when he was approximately six years old, and my family ended up in Oklahoma. We lived in Anadarko and also in Ponca City. So I really have a background with the Oklahoma Indians.

I attended Northern Oklahoma College. I also went to and graduated from Oklahoma State University as a speech pathologist and audiologist. I worked in this field for a number of years in rural schools outside Tulsa. One of the pleasures I really enjoy is creating programs. I started with this program when there weren't any speech and language programs in rural areas. It was very difficult at that time to convince the administrators that there was a need and exactly what was a speech problem. When I left (I worked there three years) we had two speech therapists take over my position. At that time I went into Indian education and worked three years in the Tulsa Public Schools.

I guess the point I'd like to make is that I have had a lot of other Indian women giving me support and teaching me skills as an administrator that I have now. I owe a lot of the knowledge I have to Wathene Young. She was my boss for three years in the Indian education program in Tulsa. By sharing ideas, by learning from, being motivated by this leader in Indian education, I was able to develop not only skills in grant-writing, but also in public relations.

When I was working for Indian education it became apparent that there were very severe unmet health needs in the urban areas. In 1975 there were approximately ten programs throughout the United States that were funded. Most of them only in referral and social service areas. Approximately three of them had gone into direct health care. When we were doing a needs assessment in Indian education we discovered the severe health problems that existed not only with the children but the entire families. One year we spent $40,000 just keeping our Indian children in school. Keeping their health needs met. It was just being able for them to come to school.

Through Wathene's efforts and my efforts we came up with identifying a resource with the Indian Health Service. A proposal was written and funded in 1976. This was a very exciting thing for

me: that we actually got some money out of writing a grant. We went down and negotiated this contract and it was more or less a milestone in my life for I was really looking for a new challenge.

At that point I was told, after writing the proposal, that I didn't have the credentials and experience to run a health program. So, I took that in stride, did not even apply for the job, and went back to graduate school. About three months later I had the community come to me and say, "We're really in trouble. This program isn't going right. Would you take the job?" This was one of the happiest moments of my life, I think, and it turned out that this was four years ago in December. This was the Indian Health Care Resource Center which I have administrated ever since.

The first year after we assessed Indian health needs and found the gaps of services that we could not provide or get for Indian people in Tulsa, we started planning for direct services. I had two men tell me there would never be an out-patient clinic in Tulsa, that we could not get the money and we would never do it. In 1977, a year and a half later, we opened an out-patient clinic.

I think the difficulties I have seen at this point is that most women — and I want to challenge you to do this, also — most women are a lot more optimistic than men are as administrators. You really need to have those dreams. You really need to be creative. You need to think and plan. You are only limited by your dreams so that anything can happen if you work hard enough or if you really set your goals and dream of these things. We never thought that we would have the building we have. We first had approximately 500 square feet — very tiny offices. Went to 3,000 square feet and in two and one-half years we now have a building that is 12,500 square feet. So, it can happen. You can reach these goals.

I would like to talk about the American Indian Health Care Association for just a few minutes. This was another turning point in my life. I was able to have the opportunity to take the leadership role of this program. There are many Indian women administering patient clinics throughout the United States. In fact, I think 75 percent of them are women. One of the things all of us have done is share ideas. When a new person comes in (and this was done for me and I have a commitment to do it with other new administrators in the urban Indian health field) we share our ideas and share our failures so that the other people won't have to go through these same things. We really pick each other's brains — how you got this funding, where were the contacts, and really help each other in all aspects, especially in administration, how to deal with different problems. We do this everytime we get together in an informal setting and it really does help.

One of the key reasons that I've always felt I was successful was that I like to listen to people and really hear what they have to say and use their ideas. I probably do not have an original idea that I have done in any of my programs. I may think I have, but I have listened and pulled out the ideas I felt would work for me and put those together. The other point is to really watch and learn from people's mistakes. I knew a gentleman at the Oklahoma City Urban Health Program, who was the leader for a long time in urban Indian health and is now with Indian Health Service. He had made some mistakes, administrative-wise, and he wanted to share them with me so I would know how to set a better program up for the Indian community in Tulsa.

STATE LEVEL INDIAN PROGRAM ADMINISTRATION

Elma R. Patterson *(Tuscarora)*

Social Worker, Indian Affairs Specialist, New York State Department of Social Services; leadership to Governors' Interstate Indian Council. Resident of Lewiston, N.Y.

As an introduction, let me tell you some things about myself and the kinds of experiences I brought with me to the New York State Office of Indian Services in 1969. I am Tuscarora. My tribal ancestry includes a paternal Seneca grandfather, a maternal Mohawk great-grandfather, an Onondaga grandfather, and, would you believe, an Englishman. Let me explain the Englishman. I was told that my grandfather was captured by the Senecas during a battle and as was the custom, a Seneca woman claimed this 17-year old for her son who had been lost in the battle. He proved worthy and ultimately became a Seneca chief and a prominent interpreter for the Senecas when treaties were made.

I was raised during the depression years and lived through outside plumbing, kerosene lamps, family sharing, white margarine, gas rationing, and no television. I graduated from Cornell University before the emphasis on Native American recruitment.

After marriage and our children were in school I returned to fulltime employment as a caseworker for the Niagara County Welfare Department, now known as Social Services. Subsequently I became the second Indian in New York state to earn a master's degree in social work. I remained a little longer doing staff development for Niagara County and in 1969 began my employment with New York State in the Office of Indian Services.

Administration can be defined as "all that is necessary to get the job done." I have used my personal life experiences, my commitment to serve Indian people, my educational background, my training as a social worker, and past employment experiences to get the job done.

The nucleus of social work, simply stated, is a *Person*, with a *Problem*, who comes to a *Place*, and is helped by a *Process*. This has been the framework upon which I have built my job responsibilities.

Person became the Indian of New York state. Initially I spent a great deal of time visiting the seven Iroquois Indian nations/tribes who live on seven reservations scattered throughout New York state, and two Algonquin tribes living on reservations on Long Island.

Although I have lived all of my life on the Tuscarora Indian Reservation and I am familiar with our customs, traditions, language and governance, it was necessary for me to learn and build a trust relationship with the other Indian nations/tribes. Each group is similar, and yet different. For example, the Tonawanda Band of Senecas and Seneca Nation of Indians are both Seneca. They are different in their manner of governance. The Tonawanda Band of Senecas is governed by a hereditary chief system and play an important role in the Iroquois Confederacy. On the other hand, Seneca Nation of Indians is governed by an elective system and are very sophisticated in dealing with all levels of government. It is necessary to understand the various tribal customs, traditions and religion. It is equally important to have statistical information, i.e., membership, population, acreage, etc. No Indian tribe lives in isolation; thus it is also necessary to understand their relationships with the adjacent non-Indian communities.

In New York state the Iroquois nations/tribes are recognized by the state and federal government Bureau of Indian Affairs and as such are under treaty protection. The Shinnecock and Poospatuck tribes on Long Island are state-recognized reservations and therefore are ineligible for some federal benefits.

Place became the Office of Indian Services located within the New York State Department of Social Services. Initially the Of-

fice of Indian Services provided financial assistance to needy Indians in New York state. This service is now offered by local departments of social services. The office provides a variety of services to Indians. We coordinate state services to Indians and serve as liaison between state agencies and tribal groups. In addition, consultation is always available to both private and public agencies, educational institutions and numerous individuals. The staff tries to offer a helping service to any Native American who requests it. Some of the kinds of help given are intervention regarding decisions rendered by departments of social services; counseling to students and/or parents for career, college entrance and financial aid; assistance in college enrollment; counseling and handling confidential matters pertaining to family situations; employment counseling, and maintaining an employment file.

We assist the Bureau of Indian Affairs in processing applications for boarding schools, training schools, and colleges. The office provides interstate services regarding tribal identity and other matters. We act as advocate for court-related actions; give certifications of age for social security; support the importance of cultural identity for Native American children both in foster care and adoptive homes; administer annuity payments to certain tribes; establish and maintain trust accounts for minors; secure tribal identity upon request.

Since this is the only state agency providing a wide scope of services to Native Americans, a great deal of time is spent in information, referral, public relations, and response to letters of inquiry, as well as participation in seminars, group meetings and conferences. The concept of self-determination has long been a principle of social work and our office attempts to adhere to this. In this respect an effort is made to maintain relationships with tribal groups and individuals for the purpose of strengthening self-determination.

Problem became the need of Indian people in New York state as defined by individuals, organizations or tribal leaders. In order to help with a problem it is again necessary to know where to seek help. This is called fact-gathering and requires in-depth knowledge of one's own house. In my case, it is the various state agencies.

First let me explain that New York state is one of several which provides services to its Native American population. Dating back to the colonial period of this country, the state has a history of dealing directly with the nations and tribes. The Indians of New York state continue to occupy their ancestral homelands. They did not relinquish these lands under the Federal Relocation policies. The division of responsibility was weakened by the lack of clear

definition of the extent of state legal jurisdiction. In 1948 and 1950 this handicap was largely removed by enactment of federal laws intended to confirm New York state's criminal and civil jurisdiction over reservation Indians.

There are today in New York state approximately 28,000 Indians of whom nearly 12,000 live on reservation land. The number of Native Americans has increased ever since official census data have been available. When living on their tribal lands the Indians are now distinguished primarily by their legal status as member-allottees of tax-free property, and their consequent dependence upon the state for services commonly provided by property tax — supported by local government. These services are provided by the Departments of Social Services, Education, Health, Mental Hygiene, Transportation, Commerce, Office of the Aging, State Police, Environmental Conservation and from the Office of the Secretary of State.

New York state also is unique in that the Iroquois people are living on reservations in both the United States and Canada and receive "dual citizenship" under the Jay Treaty. Therefore, it is necessary to establish relationships with the various Canadian Indian offices and other government services.

We have arrived at the *Process* by which the person is helped. Again, let me refer to my social work training, the initial step is called "fact gathering" and involves the skills of interviewing and listening. At all times the social worker adheres to basic principles of respect of the individual: confidentiality, right to self-determination, objectivity, a non-judgmental attitude, and the final goal of helping the individual to help himself. There are several methods by which a person can be helped, i.e., an individual might be helped on a one-to-one basis, a tribal council on a group basis, an Indian reservation on a community-organization basis or through research and administration. The second step is the "think through the facts" and thirdly, "arrive at a decision" as to how the person with a problem is helped.

This is why it is necessary to establish relationships of *trust* with all persons, agencies, governments and groups who are the resources for helping you help Indian people as individuals and members of the various nations/tribes. As a state-level administrator it is important to keep in mind that your colleagues have a minimal understanding of Indians and depend upon your judgement and assessment of the situation.

It is important to understand government bureaucracy so that you can achieve your objectives. You need to learn and understand the "power structure," who really makes decisions and what influences the decisionmaker. Another way of saying this is, "You have

to do your homework." For example: the tribal council wants to expand its health services. You need to learn all about what is needed and what is available and then what is available from the existing state agencies, followed by meetings with each group separately, then a joint meeting, all the time determining on whose turf the meeting will be held. Remember I stated earlier that the ultimate goal is "to help the person help himself." This proved to be one of my major challenges because there is little ego satisfaction in having others get all the credit for your hard work.

There is always the matter of "tokenism" when one moves up to state-level administration. I have had no problem with that because of two basic beliefs: the first is my own personal commitment to making my first priority helping Indian people learn how the bureaucracy can work for this goal; secondly, knowing that someone has to be first. I was the first Indian woman in state government and now there are four of us.

Another integral part of state-level administration is in the area of public relations. This is very important because it is an excellent way of informing voters of the pride, the strength, the treaties, and the needs of the Indian populations, especially if yours is a state where the Indian people do not vote. I will admit that there are times when I wish every 7th grade class didn't write to me for "all the information you have on the Iroquois because we are studying them in social studies." There is also the college student who asks for similar information. I constantly refer the college student to the library and send a bibliography.

I have told you about developing the New York Iroquois Conference, Inc. I learned from that experience that the same needs existed for state-level administrators. Therefore, I used my expertise, office and contacts to rebuild a national Indian organization, the Governor's Interstate Indian Council. This national organization meets annually now and brings together state-level Indian program people to discuss state government and Indian relationships as they relate to federal government programs.

Publications are another way of informing people about what you do as well as about Indian nations/tribes of your state. A bibliography is most helpful. I brought with me a sample of the three publications we mail from our office. They are THE INDIAN TODAY IN NEW YORK STATE which is a background informational pamphlet. Another is a statistical report of the AMERICAN INDIANS IN NEW YORK STATE. The third, dated 1974-75, is the last published ANNUAL REPORT OF THE NEW YORK STATE INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS. The Interdepartmental Committee was established by a former Governor. This report basically tells about what our office does and

what the other state agencies do in their programs for Indian people.

A basic administration responsibility is job performance and includes such things as: do your work, write reports, answer inquiries, return telephone calls, send memos and letters. Remember, there is power in the pen, especially in state government. I learned quite early that if you had a telephone call and didn't follow it up in writing there was nothing you could refer to. If you have something in writing state agencies are bound by response.

Last but not least is the legislative process. If laws need to be passed in order to meet needs of certain nations or tribes, then you need to know who in the state legislature can be most helpful to get these laws passed. Advocacy is bringing about change for Indian people. New York has its own laws that pertain just to the Indian tribes so that when we have legislation we are updating and changing these laws.

I began this paper by stating that administration was "all that is necessary to get the job done." Well, if it sounds like I have been overworked, it's true. But, on the other hand, it's been rewarding and a social worker should do herself out of a job because she has helped the person help himself.

It seems I am always training various New York state agency staff who find themselves responsible for some phase of their agency's service to Indians.

In conclusion, I could not do the job without the kind of total support I received from my family.

EXPERIENCES OF A TRIBAL HEAD START DIRECTOR

Yvonne Bushyhead *(Eastern Cherokee)*

President, National Indian Head Start Director's Association; Director, Cherokee Nation Head Start program, second largest in the country; Member, Oklahoma Governor's Task Force for Children and Families. Resident of Tahlequah, Okla.

I am a tribal member of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians in Cherokee, N.C. We own trust lands, boundary lands, called the Cherokee/Qualla Boundary. It isn't called a reservation, although I'm sure life there is very like reservation life. The tribal enrollment is about 7,500 maybe 8,000. Some of the life and government is certainly different than it is here. I was born and grew up there in the mountains in Cherokee. I was a member of a large family. I have six brothers and four sisters. We were very poor, but everybody was poor, so we didn't know we were poor. All of my brothers and sisters are still there, except one brother in Louisiana. He and I are the only ones who haven't remained in Cherokee.

Currently I am a single parent; I have been for 12 years. I have three daughters. Probably like all parents, I have very high hopes and dreams for them. I've gone through some questionable times as a parent when I've asked, "What am I doing?" "What did I think I was doing?" and "What am I going to do?" That kind of thing. Life on the boundary probably contributed to a lot of my drive and feelings — my motivations. We always had a strong tribal government. The chief was always in a position where he was mostly for show. Our councilmembers were the ones who set policy. The chief is accessible at all times and we experience a strong tribal and community life.

I grew up seeing and being a product of strong women roles. The women that I was a part of were so terribly strong that they were soft and gentle. There were many old people in our communities and they seemed to make so much more of an impression on all age groups at that time. The men's work and life was outdoors. Women were always role models for me — more so than men were. All of

my sisters, except one, are older than I. I had really strong feelings of female interaction in my life. Some of the goals I grew up with were to have a nice home, to get out and do some things. We didn't have a TV until I was ten or eleven. There were never movies or those kind of things. When I heard and read about them, those things began to act as a motivation for me. I have come to grips about money and that it is the exchange for services I can offer. Money plays a part in helping me attain those things I want: to travel, further my schooling, and have some things . . . so my motivations have grown as I have grown.

I went to a BIA grade school on the boundary. The teachers were non-Indian for the most part, but I grew up in a very Indian manner. Some of that was very tough. The curriculum differed at that time, it wasn't all academic. We had a big community garden, we did a big farm kind of thing as part of our learning — cooking, canning and all of that kind of thing. It was very community. My father passed away when I was 12 and my mother immediately sent me away to a Baptist school in Kentucky. That's where I went to high school.

I then went through a whirlwind marriage and had my three daughters before I learned better. When my youngest daughter was eight months old, I started college. I went to Western Carolina University; I graduated with a degree in Child Welfare in the Social Work department. Then I seemed to be on my way. I met a lawyer friend soon after that and we started what has grown to be a big law firm. We got a grant from the Campaign for Human Development and he and I started the Eastern Cherokee Legal Aid Services. It now has six lawyers, five or six paralegals, many trainees and a house full of secretaries.

My people suffered at the hands of a lot of FBI agents. We helped finance and support the county jails. We didn't have one on the boundary at the time. Out of this came our own tribal court. We're proud of what it's grown to be now. I was fortunate early in my growing-up to know by working and getting out that I am a people person. You know, there has to be some money and materialism there, but I knew pretty quick that I wasn't happy if I wasn't working directly with people in a service-kind of agency. So, an industrial, private money-making endeavor never appealed to me. I tried it. Once, I worked for BIA. I was in Personnel. That wasn't for me and I didn't last long in that. Then, I got to go to work with some children and that was it; that's where I've remained.

Something I'd like to do in the future is go to law school. That's been my dream. Something else I would really like to do is become a member of a lecture circuit, working with people who have a platform. Who better than women have reason and could have a platform addressing our energy problems in this country, our child

problems, our people problems. You know, you go to few talks where you don't hear of all the problems that adults are having. There have to be reasons for that. That's what concerns me about our children. I think that's where my commitment lies in our need for job corps, our need for alcoholism programs. You know, we are very healthy, we're very complete beings, yet we have such tremendous problems that we have to deal with.

After I became director of this Head Start program of the Cherokee Nation, it was probably just a few hours before I realized it isn't easy. It hasn't been very easy. There were times when I thought, "How can I be the only person who is right?" Sometimes I felt like, "Why didn't I know that?" But it is good to be in a policymaking position. Those decisions and policies aren't always easy when you deal with the children we deal with. The program I direct serves 337 children. We're the second largest Indian Head Start program in the nation and Alaska. There are 93 Indian and Native programs. It's a big program; there's a lot of children. Some of the positive things that can happen is when a child says, "Look, teacher, I learned; look, I can do that." Then you know it's worth it. Some of the positive things that happen are when another person will go into a center, a councilmember or another adult will go and say, "They can learn. You are doing something in there. It isn't just babysitting." And it isn't. It's very meaningful work.

There are some negatives to being a director. I think my three daughters have suffered because my particular job requires a lot of time. A lot of time when, maybe, they're sitting there eating while I'm on the phone, I'm writing a memo, I'm thinking about the program. I'm thinking about the child we have in the program who has had a problem from birth. We have such children in our program. We have some children in our program who excel so greatly that I know we aren't doing enough for them. I know that so many need help, but are not properly addressed at this time. The time element is a hard thing for me. We have 12 centers that I oversee. In those 12 centers there are 14 classrooms. Our program has eight buses so we have a transportation system. It hasn't been easy to figure out the structure and the organization of this program because we're relatively new. We've been in process for just over two years in actual classrooms with children. We have many needs to speak to in this program: the health needs, nutrition, parenting — we're a full-day program.

One of the problems I've encountered being a director, is that too many times the men administrators are without the emotion I have for my job and for the children. It's been difficult and too many times impossible, to make that contact work when I talk with men about children's needs and the realities of this program.

Something interesting happened just last July. I had been with the Cherokee Nation short of three years at the time and some people from Dallas came to Cherokee Nation and did a reclassification on the wage scale for all employees. I was told that I was the single most overworked and underpaid individual of the Cherokee Nation. My supervisor told me this. Immediately, my pay was raised over $5,000. Talk about the power of the pen! Up to that point, I knew that. I knew how much work and how much responsibility it is to try to address and to try to care for that many children and the liabilities that you're dealing with. That's been a problem — to feel understood.

I don't know how many of you are from Oklahoma and are familiar with the fact that Oklahoma isn't the most child-loving state of the Union. The legislators in this state have not always voted favorably or even knowledgeably as for as children are concerned. That needs changing! Despite the time, the money and the tremendous pressure restraints of this job I have a great commitment to stay in the position of a director.

Basically, I feel very strongly that if we're to have peace, if we're to have the peace we talk about in our churches, in our groups, if we're to have the time of working together and of being together, of being fulfilled as Indian women, men and families, we're going to have to address needs of children. I think we have to be committed, that we have to teach children that which is good. That which is beautiful. We have to help them to become knowledgeable and interested. We have to help them to know about accomplishing and how to go about building all the good things in this life. It's been a privilege to be able to grow in the ways of feeling good about *me* and good about what I might do, and good about some people that I could help on their way . . . the children. I always feel very grateful for that.

Mary Jo Cole *(Cherokee)*

Cherokee Nation Education Director; grantwriter and work on behalf of tribal scholarship program. Resident of Tahlequah, Okla.

It's not always easy to be a director. I am a director of educational programs within the tribe. I supervise six programs; adult education which has three different funding sources, though they all work together. We have adult education funded through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Title IV-C, and basic skills program which is also a separate program for children, kindergarten through 12th grade. We have a small arts and crafts program which is also Bureau funded. And an alternative school which is called the Stilwell Academy for dropouts in Adair County, who are either dropouts from the public school or potential dropouts. We also have an early childhood development project which is funded by the Bureau that is mainly used for development of the staff to teach early childhood. We have components of pre-school in four separate programs of the Cherokee Nation. The Stilwell Academy has a number of young girls who have children and have dropped out of school because they can't take their children to class with them and there are no available facilities to keep their children. So we're developing a small child care program there so the student can bring her children to classes with her. Then we have a small scholarship project that is sponsored by the Cherokee Nation.

I supervise both men and women at different levels. It has been only a couple of years that I have supervised men and, to me, it's been a little difficult trying to adjust to that. Some people don't take too well to being supervised by a woman and they don't always listen to what I have to tell them. They want to do their own thing if it's okay with me, and if I don't like it, that's tough.

In addition to supervising programs, I act as advisor to several community enterprises in the community. During the last two and one-half years I have participated in the development of several proposals including a current proposal to WEEA, in hopes that we can advance education programs but they're all funded for such short lengths of time that we constantly are looking for new funding sources.

I am a graduate of Northeastern and have a bachelor's degree in business education. I started college when I was 23, after I had had a whirlwind marriage and divorced at the age of 23. I had three small children, ages two, three and five. I started during the summertime after I had been out of school six or seven years. I'm a high school dropout, but I took the ACT test and made a high enough score that I didn't have to take my GED. When I got my first grade report, my children and I were so excited that I had passed, we all walked to town here in Tahlequah and bought some ice cream and sodas to celebrate. They didn't know what I was so excited about. But I was excited because I had felt like I would flunk out the first semester. I made the honor roll the first semester.

When I finished college I got a job out here at Sequoyah High School and worked in the recreation department. I supervised kids who were on the student council. They were allowed to work and get paid to work in the student store. It gave them a little job experience. They made hamburgers. It was kind of ironic because before I started college that's about what I did. I made hamburgers and was a waitress. Then after I finished my college degree, I started back over only this time I was teaching other kids how to make hamburgers, sodas and things like this.

After about six months I got a job with the tribe in the education department as adult education teacher and I developed the current adult education program that we have for high school dropouts to get their high school equivalency diplomas. It is still in continuation since 1971 — almost ten years this July.

When I began working with adults to help them obtain a high school equivalency, it became quite apparent that nearly all the people I was working with had many, many personal and family problems with which I was not equipped to deal. At that time I went back to school and started working on my master's degree and got in some counseling. When I did my practicum we had to do 15 tapes with people who were having problems. I always got these people who had these real neat problems. My classmates asked me where I found all these people with all these problems. Maybe the reason they have problems is because they don't have a job, they have problems with their children, they can't get their kids to go to school. We always had lots of neat problems to talk about.

Since I became the director in 1976, I've gotten a lot of training through the tribe to help me become a better administrator. I don't know if it has helped or not, but I have received a lot of on-the-job training. All of my professional experience has been with the Cherokee Nation. However, as I said before I worked as a dishwasher and waitress and factory worker in Muskogee. You get a lot

of experience dealing with people from those kinds of jobs.

There have been a lot of difficulties about being a woman administrator in a male-dominated organization such as the tribe. It has been a great deal of help to me to be able to talk with other women to get me back on track and to help me keep on going. Up until the last two years I've not had to supervise men but now there are seven men under my supervision.

I'm 7/16ths Cherokee. I usually say I'm one-half because it's easier that way. My great-great-grandmother was a small child when the Cherokees were removed from North Carolina. She came over on the Trail of Tears with her parents. My great-grandmother married a White man and converted to Christianity from the traditional Cherokee religion. So my grandmother and mother were not raised traditionally, yet they were always aware of the old days because my grandfather was very much involved in the old traditions. He was called the "keeper of the fire." The fire was kept burning all year round. It was brought from North Carolina. His sons are still keeping the fire at the old stomp grounds.

I've served on both Title IV and JOM parent committees. I'm a member of NAIWA and NIEA. I plan to stay with the tribe. I hope the Reagan Administration doesn't completely wipe out our education program. I've always felt like I didn't work for any Administration but I do work for the people of the tribe. I hope I can stay in that position and do something to advance education. We have a tremendous dropout problem here in Oklahoma, in this specific area. That's what I would like to do — to stay and work with our people and help advance their educational levels. To do something about illiteracy in this area.

Educational Equity Insight Workshop

Moderator: Carolyn Attneave
Panelists: Ramona Tecumseh Sandoval
Rayna Green
Leslie Wolfe
Ruth Arrington
Nancy Butterfield

RACISM-SEXISM CHARACTERISTICS

Ramona Tecumseh Sandoval *(Winnebago/Sac and Fox)*

Formerly Assistant Supervisor, Indian Education, State of Wisconsin; former Consultant, American Institutes for Behavioral Sciences on project relating to sex and race stereotyping; authored, HOW TO SEARCH ERIC FOR AMERICAN INDIAN MATERIALS. Resident of Madison, Wis.

Today, legal institutional racism and sexism continue to operate. Sometimes it is blatant, at other times more subtle, but rarely do we hear it publicly challenged these days.

Discrimination in institutions does not necessarily occur by conscious intent or personal prejudice against a group. But racism, ethnic and language group discrimination as a gender and sexual orientation, and elitism as to educational and economic class are a part of every institution in America.

The analogy between racism and sexism was explicitly developed by Blakey (1974). He saw three main parallels between racism and sexism: negative stereotypes, unequal protection under the law, and unequal political participation.

Race and sex stereotyping continue to persist today. A stereotype is an oversimplified generalization about a particular group, race or sex, which usually carries derogatory implications. Stereotypes exist historically in education as well as the media.

Alvin Josephy notes that: " . . . from the time of the Europeans'

first meeting with the American Indians in 1492 until today, the Indian has been a familiar but little known and, indeed, often an unreal, person to the non-Indian. What has been known about him (sic), moreover, frequently has been superficial, distorted, or false."

Perhaps the generalized reference to the "American Indian" or to "Indian culture" which in itself obliterates the enormous diversity of ceremonies, world views, political and social organization, life-styles, language and art was economic in nature.

Making the American Indian peoples "generalized beings" subverts the diversity of Native culture, making them a "faceless, non-person." At the onset of Euro-American contact with Native peoples the Pope issued a Papal Bull declaring Indians were without souls, non-persons, but nevertheless they should be saved and their ancestral homelands were apportioned out by the Pontiff in Rome.

It is much easier to justify the "taking over" of a continent when the "faceless" inhabitants lack that attribute which makes them human — a soul.

Europe, at the time of contact, was in turmoil. There was a need for expansion and the American continent had little to lose in their mother-countries and a plethora of economic wealth and opportunity to gain — at the expense of the Indians.

But, from the beginning the cry arose, "What shall we do with the Indians?" A misnomer, by the way. We were so named by a lost Italian seeking the riches of the East Indians of India. Some brought their lands, $25 in beads and trinkets; next came the treaties, executive orders and Acts of Congress.

I contend that the economic factor is the prime reason for the past and present treatment of American Indian people. If we were a poor people divested of a rich and blessed homeland, we would have been left alone to continue on our merry way, but such was not the case.

In fact, I will be very interested to watch the trend in treatment of Native peoples in the next few years. We have 80 percent of the nation's uranium, natural gas, coal and water reserves. In our time of energy consumption will the national interest cast a lean and hungry look to American Indian lands and natural resources? If this isn't economic in nature, I don't know what is.

Meanwhile, the drunken Indian, personified by the movie, NOBODY LOVES A DRUNKEN INDIAN, and the personality-less squaw dutifully ambling three paces behind her husband personify the American Indian woman. Stereotypical images in movies, in

books, in the news and entertainment media, and finally, in our own minds (the Indian and the crab bucket story), deny Indian people pride and the will to change. The use of sex and race stereotypes deny us a positive self-image and limit our perception of possible goals and accomplishments.

The image of the "Indian princess" is a positive exception to the negative term "squaw," which is from Algonkian language, meaning "woman," which, through the years, has become a derogatory term. Historians have given Indian women few heroines. The list stops with Pocahontas and Sacajawea.

Why is there a void between these two women and Susette LaFlesche, Maria Tallchief, Buffy St. Marie, Maria Martinez and many contemporary American Indian women and role models today?

They are out there waiting. I envision them as a wave, lying in wait upon the ocean's surface until the time is ripe. Then, the wave gains momentum as it rushes to meet the shore. The wave gains strength and power as she crests and the white foam of the wave sends a signal to the shore of her arrival. And upon her impact, the coastline changes, the elements respect her.

So it is with our Indian ancestors, our mothers, even our fathers, friends and colleagues. They are and will continue to be mighty waves upon the sea of life making a positive impact on their families, tribes and communities.

INDIAN WOMEN AND TEXTBOOK OMISSION

Rayna Green *(Cherokee)*

Distinguished Visiting Professor, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H.: Project Director, National Native American Science Resource Center; compiled new scholarly work, NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN: A BIBLIOGRAPHY; Special Consultant, National Endowment for the Humanities on Indian Affairs and American Association for the Advancement of Science. Ph.D., Folklore and American Studies, Indiana University, 1973.

I'll restrict my remarks today to the appearance of Indian women in textbooks, I think it's an interesting indication of (1) what's not there, and (2) things that are there that are detrimental. I want to reflect a lot more on what's not in textbooks because this is important. I need to say nothing about Pocahontas and Sacajawea except one thing that I think is very, very interesting. I think this is the key to the kinds of Indian women in textbooks, but not the key to the kinds of Indian men in textbooks.

Indian men in textbooks almost inevitably were the great failed warrior chiefs, ultimately the people who blew it and who died. They always die or get dragged off. But they did it fighting. Indian women who appear in textbooks, such as Pocahontas or Sacajawea, are valued and are there because Whites believed them to be traitors to their own people. I think it quite clear and I think we have to understand that and say that over and over. These are not people who were images of the leaders of Indian people. The fact is that Sacajawea is different from Pocahontas in a major sense in that she really was a broker between White culture and Indian culture. She was a great help to the Shoshone people and to other Indian people. But the textbooks do not focus on that aspect of what she did. They are valued in this world for what they did for White people. Everytime, I guarantee you, everytime you find an Indian woman who is singled out by non-Indians for her contributions, it is because of the contribution she makes to the non-Indian world, not for any contribution she makes to the Indian world.

Let's take a recent case which is interesting — it's a clue; the case of Maria Martinez who has become almost a cult heroine. The value of Maria Martinez is a commercial value. Again, that's the bottom line. You see this thing in a number of studies of Indian stereotypes, particularly in advertising. The theme is quite clear: as long as Indians have commercial value they will be idolized by the non-Indian world. Maria Martinez is a case in point. Through no fault of her own, although she was a very good manipulator of the press, a very clever manipulator of the press, she was valued for her commercial value. I'm not saying anything negative about these people as they are, but *rather as how they are used*. Buffy St. Marie . . . I could just go on and on. They are valued in the White world for their commercial value. The other value — the Pocahontas and Sacajawea kind of value — the value there is for women who, as Whites understand them, in essence, betrayed their own people to work with White people. *But they are not seen in the terms in which Indian people might have valued them.* As well, it's the missing women who worry me there because the missing women are the ones who have real value in Indian culture.

Let me just talk a couple of minutes about some of those. Most of you have seen the bibliography, NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN; the material is there and there is more coming. I've done an analysis of 300 years of writing on Native women. There are startling omissions that really knock me out. Those missing women, Gertude Simmons Bonnin of the Sioux, who was not only a leader for her own people, but an Indian nationalist who helped found the National Congress of American Indians, you will never hear Gertrude Simmons Bonnin's name either in non-Indian publications or, unfortunately, when Indian people speak of the great Indian leaders of this country. Because Bonnin, like Sacajawea before her and like a number of very important Indian women, was a broker between the cultures and performed very valuable services for Indian people which remained invisible.

Ella Deloria was another, a great cultural leader, a linguist, a scholar. There has been some work on Ella Deloria — there is an Ella Deloria project at the University of South Dakota, but again, Ella Deloria was valued in non-Indian terms only for the help she gave anthropologists. But she's never been recognized as a scholar in her own right, even among Indian people, which have lionized their other male scholars. What I've been trying to do and what I urge you to do, is to examine your own tribes for people who were remarkable people, who made great contributions to their own people, and begin to do the work that will restore them to their rightful place in the history of Indian people as *Indian people would like to see it*. I think this scholarly work has to be done by tribal people. It has to be recovered. Scholars like me can't do it

unless we know who's there. We can't go back and repair that kind of loss.

Recently Ruth Arrington took the opportunity to do a piece on the great Oklahoma historian and founder of CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA, Muriel Wright, a major historian of the twentieth century. Ruth wrote a biography on her for NOTABLE AMERICAN WOMEN. She would not have been in there except that people fought for her inclusion. This is tremendously important.

I could go down the list of these missing women who are major, major figures. That's the first thing I want to say here. There are missing women and they are important to Indian people. They represent Indian values, they worked for Indian people, and they represent keys to a vision of Indian people that I don't believe we stress of ourselves. And that's what I want to say. I'm not dismissing the warrior chiefs, but I do think they give us a vision of our own people that maybe is not so useful in a modern context. One of the kinds of visions we need to have is of people who were good administrators, and we don't have those models that we value because we are always saying, "Our administrators are not good — that's not what we had."

But they are there and they were tribal. They were Indian. They did some remarkable things. And some of the women, because nobody paid attention to them, because they didn't have to live up to the models of the dead warrior chiefs – you know, go out bleeding on a horse — were left alone and free to function. I think they can offer some very different models. That's the first thing. There are missing women in there and they are very instructive in all kinds of ways.

The second thing is about some of the things that are there. I fully believe that if we allow non-Indian people and Indian people to exist under the delusion that the people who are in the textbooks, the Pocahontas and Sacajawea types, are role models for us, that we continue to allow damage to be done. We must continually comb and be aware and alert of the dangers in textbooks that allow these kinds of images to persist. There are hundreds of them. You have to be ever on guard. One of the things I would like to see happen is some systematic way to inform the textbook publishing world of the continuing abuse of Indian women in these textbooks and the continuing historical mistakes that are perpetuated. Most of the books that are written even on these figures who do appear, are inaccurate, erroneous — I cannot tell you how vile they are — because they don't use the good historical sources that exist.

The third thing I'd like to see happen is not so much in the area of textbooks, although it's in the area of books in general. That is the

praise and pushing of books that are valuable. Shirley Witt and I have recently written a double review of CREEK MARY'S BLOOD by Dee Brown, which is vile and ghastly. It's about major figures who deserve better treatment — Mary Mathews Musgrove Bosomsworth, "The Queen of the Creeks," who tried to save Georgia from the Oglethorpe colonists during colonization and who is combined crazily by Dee Brown in CREEK MARY'S BLOOD with Nancy Ward, our beloved Ghigau of the Cherokee nation, and screwed her up historically with Suzanne LaFlesche, the Omaha physician, the first Indian woman physician, all mangled in history. I think this is a book, in a way, that deserves the kind of attack that HANTA YO has gotten because it is an insult to historical record. Moreover, it defames Indian women who were great leaders, great cultural leaders. Nancy Ward brought commercial cattle-raising to the Cherokees while non-Indian people in North Carolina were still lying around in rags. We've got to say something is erroneous, and we've got to say when something is right.

A brand-new novel which I commend to you is a superb, beautiful novel, now in paperback, SHAMAN'S DAUGHTER, by Salerno and Vanderburgh. It's about a Chippewa medicine woman at the turn of the century. It's an exquisite book. It's accurate; a beautiful book; it is an Indian book with Indian values. You will not see it touted because she doesn't die mysteriously, she doesn't sell out, she is an ordinary woman and yet an extraordinary woman. I think we've got to find books like this and promote them.

I think too often we get ourselves in a position of only fighting things and we forget to push products that really do our people honor and do justice to the historical record. I think we've got to find books like that and say, "These are wonderful — use them." Take them to the schools, give them to the kids. Make sure they are available when we have events like this so that we can say something positive to people: "Here are some good products. Here are ones worth doing. Here are women who are admirable and are treated accurately."

Mary Mathews Musgrove Bosomsworth was a real character. She had some flaws — some remarkable flaws — and those flaws deserved to be acknowledged as well as the other remarkable things she did for the Georgians. She was probably one of the first great scam artists of all times. If she had been on Wall Street she would have been in the Bahamas with millions by now because she was a remarkable woman. But she was a great con artist as well. I think we need to say those things. We need to be free to acknowledge flaws and at the same time to push things we have as good products. There's lots of material — we're trying to recover it. I think you have to recover some of it. We need to know about

remarkable people. We need to know about tribal people. The written record is not there. I think one of the things you could do in the schools is to begin your own textbooks with either oral histories from people or the recovery of material and the reconstruction of things that do honor to Indian women and do set the record correct.

WEEA - AN OVERVIEW

Leslie R. Wolfe

Director, Women's Educational Equity Act Program, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, D.C. Ph.D., English, University of Florida, 1970.

The Women's Educational Equity Act was passed by Congress in 1974 and awarded its first grants in fiscal year 1976. It is the largest federal program designed exclusively and explicitly to eliminate sexism in education. In 1980 we spent $10 million; in 1981, we were scheduled to receive an appropriation of $10 million again; however, 18 percent has been rescinded; our 1981 appropriation thus is $8.1 million. The Act was re-authorized by Congress in 1978; it was expanded and some changes were made. Our emphasis has been, for the last few years, on combatting both race and sex bias in education. We believe that you cannot do one without the other.

So we have funded projects such as the Ohoyo Center.

WEEA grantees are doing some wonderful work. I can say that without any fear that you will think it's arrogant and pompous and egotistical because I'm not doing the wonderful work. Owanah Anderson, Sedelta Verble, Carol Juneau, and 70 other terrific groups of people around the country are actually doing the work. Let me give a few examples.

We are funding the development of a Black women's educational policy network; we are funding a project called "Campesinas" which is working with farm worker women in terms of their own education and career advancement and their children's futures — it is a generation-spanning project.

The final part of this piece is on the final part of the WEEA process. That is the peer review of the products developed under WEEA grants. WEEA grantees develop books and pamphlets, handbooks and directories, films and videotapes to submit to us. We have a contract with Educational Development Center to serve as the WEEA Publishing Center. The Wellesley College Center for Research on Women serves as subcontractor and conducts the peer review panels which evaluate the products. We insist on having each product reviewed by people who are representative of potential users. The WEEA Program makes the final decisions, of course, based on the peer reviews and on our own judgment about what needs to be changed and what needs to be done differently.

PROSPECTIVE OF THE WEEA PROPOSAL READER

Ruth Arrington *(Creek)*

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To begin with, it is necessary to observe that the prospects for successful proposal reading are dependent on how well written the proposal is. Advice for good writing serves as a guide for the Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA after this) field reader. As the topic of reading is addressed there will be references to writing. Further, as a teacher of speech I will begin by relating to my field. While students are not encouraged to write a speech, they are given suggestions concerning organizing the speech that relate to writing. Let us begin there.

Speech students learn to select a subject and record a guiding theme, often called a core statement. If they make it clear, complete and concise, this statement will provide a solid base of opera-

tion for a speech that is easy for the speaker to organize and remember. Further, listeners will find their role much easier to carry out. Speakers are constantly reminded to keep the audience in mind while they plan their speech. Proposal writers would not only aid readers, but could very possibly be considered for funding, by writing for their audiences, the field reader.

In order to do this the writer should know the rules that the reader follows and attempt to address them. At this point we should take a quick look at the instructions given to WEEA field readers.

First of all, WEEA invites people from across the nation to participate in proposal reading projects. Variety seems to be the guide here. WEEA projects are related to women. Women serve as readers, but so do men. They may learn a great deal from the experience. Additional variety is insured by inviting people to read who come from different fields. Not all of them are university professors; some are from women's organizations, some from the private sector, some from community service-based groups, etc. The readers represent a variety of backgrounds. Persons from majority and minority groups are invited. For each of the last two reading sessions held by WEEA more than 80 people came to Washington, D.C. for a week to read proposals. These readers and the proposals are organized by the WEEA staff. Each proposal is read and evaluated by three people. Variety continues to serve as a basic principle of the program.

But back to the instructions given to the readers. The first morning is spent with the staff who orient the group concerning the process. The WEEA GUIDELINES are carefully explained. The evaluation sheets and the scoring process are discussed. Finally, the teams of readers receive proposals and begin the evaluation process.

Now the test of the proposal commences. Does the writer know and follow the WEEA guidelines? In the booklet, writers are told the criteria that will be used to evaluate the finished proposals. It would seem that a wise writer would follow the same plan. It would seem that they would consider their intended audience, the field reader, who will follow the WEEA guidelines. This is probably the greatest weakness of proposals. Writers neglect their audience in their eagerness to achieve their own desired goal. The reader cannot make a proposal that waxes eloquent and dreams creatively fit the guidelines. Only the writer can do that.

Earlier I related to the core statement for a speech as needing to be clear, complete and concise. The field reader responds favorably when the proposal follows these suggestions. Possibly clarity is most important. Again the writer must remember that the reader

may or may not know about "peer counseling," for example. After reading proposals this past winter I learned about it. In proposals that were clear, the process was well-defined and explained in terms that anyone could understand.

Additionally, proposal writers need to remember to be complete. It is distressing for the reader to fail to find where the writer discusses the commitment of their group to educational equity. The concept is the heart of the WEEA program. How could an applicant neglect this issue? There were proposals among those I read that contained no material about educational equity. Not only did they fail to follow the guidelines and have an incomplete proposal, they did not consider their audience. It is insulting to ask WEEA for funds and not express how you have addressed and intend to address the backbone issue on which the funding source is based.

As the last point to be covered in this discussion, the writer should give attention to conciseness. No matter what you have heard, excessive length is not a virtue in proposal writing. Rather than working for volume, it might be wise to write all the words you can think of on your subject and then go back and cut and cut and cut. Leave only those words that are necessary to the understanding of what you propose.

As noted earlier, there is a basic relationship between the proposal writer and the proposal reader. My theme has been to show you that suggestions for preparing a speech can aid both and, hopefully, make the relationship agreeable and perhaps rewarding.

WEEA PANEL REVIEW: EVALUATING THE EQUITY PRODUCT

Nancy Butterfield *(Red Lake Chippewa)*

Formerly Assistant Editor, THE INDIAN VOICE, publication of Small Tribes of Western Washington. Authored articles concerning Indian civil rights complaints, Indian women's stereotypes, battered women and women leadership. Resident of Washington state.

Initially I was contacted at my office by a staff member of the Center for Research on Women at Wellesley College and asked if I would be interested in participating in a review panel that would be reviewing material produced by grantees of WEEA and specifically for Indian women as their target population. I guess I felt a lot like Ruth Arrington said she did when she first found out she was going to be a reader. I thought, "How am I going to know what to look for? How am I going to know if the material is good or how it's going to be used or any of those things?"

But the Wellesley College staff made our job very easy for us. They included with the material they shipped for reading a lot of information about the Center for Research on Women, about their role in getting the products reviewed before they are disseminated and wrote specific information about the criteria to be used in reviewing the material.

We got everything in the mail about three weeks ahead of time. I think I read about 800 pages of material. That sounds like a lot. But fortunately, one of the materials was the RESOURCE GUIDE OF AMERICAN INDIAN-ALASKA NATIVE WOMEN, which Ohoyo Resource Center had developed, and I had already received a field-test copy of that earlier and had read it. So that made it a lot easier.

The three categories that we reviewed these materials on were:

- Quality of material. This refers to the visual material of the product — how clear is it, how good is the layout, the design — just physically what is the quality of the material.

- Ease of implementation. This was a really important category. This related to how easy it would be for other programs to take these materials and make use of them. Will they need a lot of sophisticated equipment? Are they going to need somebody who has a Ph.D. in education that can do this workshop? How easy will this be for other women's programs to implement? So I think that was a really important category that we had to evaluate the materials under.

- Is the material appropriate for Indian and Alaska Native women? That was also very important. The materials that our panel reviewed were all developed specifically for, or about, Alaska Native and American Indian women.

It was very interesting because before the panel convened, none of us knew who else was going to be on the panel so we didn't have a chance to (and I'm sure this was intentional) get together and discuss our evaluation before we finally met in person. When we did come together it was for a one-day session with staff from Wellesley College. It was amazing that in nearly every case we came in with the same kinds of evaluations.

We were surprised to find out how much authority we really had as panel members. It was the panel that determined if that material should be released as it was or if it should not be disseminated until some major revisions were made. I'd like to add that the program material that had the highest evaluations all the way through the panel was the Ohoyo resource book. That got the highest possible rating from the panel.

Impacting Curriculum

Joann Sebastian Morris *(Cayuga/Chippewa)*

Former Executive Director, American Indian Education Commission, Los Angeles Unified Schools. Frequent lecturer on Indian women's perspective; leader in textbook and curriculum reform; Member, Resource Committee for Sex Equality of Los Angeles Public Schools; published author. Resident of Washington, D.C.

For the past five years I have had the privilege of advocating on behalf of Indian students, their parents and Indian teachers in Los Angeles City Schools. I did not take the job knowing that I would eventually be heavily involved in "impacting curriculum" as the title of my speech implies. My office, the American Indian Education Commission, was started by about 12 of us in the Los Angeles Indian community who agreed our students were not getting a fair shake in the public school system. We learned there were already in existence offices functioning for Black, Mexican-American and Asian-American students with nothing available to our community. After several presentations before the Board of Education, we were finally approved for funding and the office opened in February, 1976.

During these last five years I've dealt with all manner of student problems. Indian students are singled out and punished for not wanting to salute the flag, or for protesting a teacher's unit on Indian culture. Other problems center around unfair discipline of Indian students. In many of these encounters, it became evident that the teachers, principals and other administrators often had outdated, stereotyped and, in many instances, racist views of and attitudes toward American Indians and our culture.

After more time on the job it was obvious that our young people do not act out their feelings in the same way as do Black and Mexican-American students. While I handle an average of one grievance every two weeks year-round, the number of suspensions and expulsions for the whole five-year period could be counted on one hand. While Indian students become as frustrated and turned-off to an insensitive school system at a rate proportional to other ethnic youngsters, Indian youths do not act out their feelings

of rejection and anger in the same way. Our young people tend to internalize these feelings and quietly, but in protest, they drop out of school. Thus, one of our primary goals is keeping the Indian students in school.

What ingredients are necessary to change an insensitive public school system? Many. But one of the main ingredients in this recipe is an approved curriculum from which Indian students can learn positive, non-stereotyped and current information about their culture. If teaching all students about Indians is properly and honestly done, the Indian student population should gain positive feelings about themselves and about their school, since it appears the school cares enough to include them in the curriculum. Additionally, the non-Indian student population should gain more insight and respect for Indians, thereby easing relations between the Indian and non-Indian students by reducing the number of incidents when Indian boys and girls are teased and taunted for being Indian.

It is also important that we have a mechanism for impacting the school system itself. We must make ourselves known to the school district. We might have the best curriculum materials ever created but if we don't have access to the school system, it will never be incorporated. We must, therefore, have done our homework, learned who is who, and made ourselves credible to such a degree that the school district readily sees us as a positive resource whose suggestions they are willing to incorporate. Short of this type of cooperative relationship which I recognize is not always open to us in many communities, support can still be mounted and pressure exerted on those who control curriculum development.

There are other ingredients to this recipe. It is crucial that Indian-written and/or Indian-approved materials make their way into all classrooms and all subject areas. But it is not enough to simply put good information into the hands of educators, particularly when their attitudes remain negative and inflexible. Thus, ongoing teacher-training sessions must be held with all involved: aides, student teachers, teachers, principals, and other supervisory-level administrators. They need background information to improve their understanding in order to teach *about* Indians; others need specific culture-related information to improve their rapport when working *with* Indian students and parents.

While the materials we deliver into the hands of teachers are generally supplementary in nature, i.e., course outlines or curriculum guides, there remains much work to be done to improve the content of most required textbooks. This need for involvement in textbook review and revision is another key ingredient to impacting curriculum.

Let's talk for a moment about curriculum offerings themselves. In most parts of the country, American Indians are indeed included somewhere in a typical K-12 curriculum. But we are most often studied in a unit the teacher has prepared centering around Thanksgiving, then we're generally forgotten for the remainder of the school year. In some school districts, National Indian Day, the fourth Friday in September, is highlighted. In even fewer states, an American Indian Awareness Week is recognized in October, during the week when October 12th falls, thereby taking the emphasis off Christopher Columbus and putting it back on the original inhabitants of this continent.

We often hear teachers make remarks on the day following their Indian unit, the gist of which is: "Well, now we can get back to our regular work," thereby leaving students with the impression that the study of Indians is secondary in importance, supplementary and perhaps even suspect since it takes them away from their *real* studies. Teachers' attitudes are immediately picked up by and reflected in their students.

It is essential that we begin pressuring the public, private government and missionary school systems to teach about Indian cultures on an on-going basis, systematically and sequentially. We should be discussed year-round and our cultures should be studied in *all* subject areas, not just social studies at the elementary level, or history at the secondary level.

The majority of non-Indian educators are unaware how they can incorporate positive, factual and educationally relevant material in whatever subject field they teach. We must help them in this task. We are the ones who carry the correct cultural information with us; we are the key. We must ourselves take a look at the course offerings in our local schools and brainstorm ways in which aspects of Indian culture can be incorporated into these classes.

Allow me to cite some examples to demonstrate what I mean. At the elementary level, math, reading and writing are standard subjects that by law must be covered. In math classes students can learn to count in Indian languages. They might also do beadwork using larger beads which will teach younger children counting and sorting skills as they create their design. When teaching second or third-graders about money, they can also learn that different forms of money have been used in this country. For example, the English colonists turned to the Indian exchange system, using wampum, when their government refused to send any more money to them. Corn and other forms of shell (such as dentalium in California) have also been used as forms of currency. These are simple, interesting and stimulating facts that teachers can incorporate with little deviation from their usual study plan.

I earlier mentioned reading which is the core of the elementary curriculum. In addition to reading from their basic reading texts, supplementary books about Indian children and various tribal cultures in general can be used in all classrooms for students to read on their own or for use by the teacher or aide when reading aloud to younger age students. A study of the Cherokee alphabet would highlight not only a reading lesson but also when teaching alphabetizing and written communication skills.

At the secondary levels the possibilities are endless for innovative educators. History is a natural for teaching about Indians; we need only insist that we be studied in contemporary society as well. Government classes can recognize the importance of the Iroquois Constitution, the Great Law of Peace, in the formulation of the U.S. Constitution. Contemporary tribal government systems and their relationship to the federal government are topics that could easily be incorporated into American government course outlines. Journalism classes can research Indian current events. Students might contrast the journalistic styles when an article appears in an Indian newspaper and when the same topic is reported in a daily non-Indian newspaper. Speech classes can discover the fascinating oratorical skills of our people. Speech debates can be held on various topics, such as the role of Indian women in traditional and contemporary Indian societies. In home economics courses, cooking Indian foods is a natural activity, but it might also be interesting to learn about Indian design and decoration and to study the variety of tribal clothing styles, including the influence of the traditional on contemporary fashions.

Indian music can be introduced time and again at all grade levels. In physical education classes, lacrosse and other Indian games and relays can be introduced and played. Positive tribal attitudes toward running and toward the overall maintenance of a healthy, strong body and mind can be infused in any health education discussion, whether at the elementary or secondary level.

It takes some imagination and a lot of study on the part of non-Indians to think up new approaches to infusing Indian culture into the academic curriculum. Principle to this whole approach are you and me, all of us know our tribal cultures and are willing to see aspects of it shared. We must, each of us, look at how certain facts about our tribe could be incorporated into a standard course offering whether in elementary or secondary schools. Degrees and teaching certificates are of no consequence when speaking of this kind of cultural knowledge. We all have it. Then we need only ask our education friends to record the information into a particular lesson plan format. We can no longer place the whole burden of changing and impacting curriculum on the shoulders of Indian educators alone. All of us can share in this venture.

To increase teacher interest in your new curriculum ideas and suggested teaching methodologies, it is helpful to hold open houses at which materials are shared and to direct teacher pre- and in-service sessions to aid in understanding Indian cultures. Conferences are also attractive to teachers and good ways to deliver your message. Our office has sponsored two such one-day conferences. The first was entitled "Multicultural Education and the American Indian." The second was held less than two months ago and highlighted the "Scientific Knowledge of the American Indian." It is this last conference I wish to discuss further with you.

While Indians recognize that our people have always been scientists and natural engineers, non-Indians rarely accord us this recognition. The majority of the general public would not be cognizant of the fact that tribes had astronomers, although we might have termed them stargazers. We also had our weather reporters and soil experts; we simply did not label them meteorologists or geologists, respectively. A variety of architectural skills were required to build some of the homes, ceremonial buildings and other monuments created by our people. Great engineering skills were required to construct the cliff dwellings and pueblos.

It was this type of information we shared for eight hours with the 250 elementary to college teachers who attended the science and Indian conference. Too often teachers of the hard sciences feel they must teach straight textbook material and that it is impossible to infuse cultural information into their subject field, anyway. Our goal was to prove otherwise. Just a sampling of the suggestions we made to them follow. We demonstrated it is easy to incorporate a discussion of various aspects of Indian culture, whether they are teaching general science skills, physical science, natural or earth science. In the elementary and junior high levels, when geometric shapes are the topic under consideration, students can create Seminole patchwork designs using cloth or paper. The history of Seminole patchwork can also be researched. In *physical* science classes when crystalization is studied, students can make salt crystals or rock salt. Discussion can center on the evaporation of salt in nature and the emergence of trade between various tribes for salt. In the *life* sciences, students can learn to imitate various bird calls and animal sounds. For example, they might learn that Indians tapped two pebbles together to attract the attention of chipmunks, squirrels and rabbits. The classes can recognize the importance of these sounds to Indians for the sustenance of life. When *earth* science is taught, students can research the many techniques used by Indian tribes to conserve the soil: they terraced gardens, rotated crops, used fish for fertilizer, and allowed fields to lie fallow. If *practical* science is discussed, the architectural and

mechanical engineering skills of Indians can be studied by researching house types, irrigation canals or boat designs.

I hope I've been able to give you some ideas of ways in which all of us can impact curriculum. We all have a piece of this act. Perhaps as you were listening, some interesting prospective classroom activities came to mind. Jot it down. Maintain a list. Or put them on 3" x 5" cards. Do whatever you need to do, but preserve the idea. There is so much yet that needs to be shared; we need everyone's input.

A word of caution is needed about developing curriculum ideas. We must be careful that we don't begin painting too rosy and unrealistic a picture of our lifeways. More importantly, we must beware and not focus on Indian material culture alone. There must be more depth. All lessons about Indian culture taught at the elementary and secondary levels stress arts and crafts, and aspects of physical life, e.g., dwellings, food, clothing, etc. Yet all of this focus is solely on the material culture of our people. While the physical objects used by Indian societies are of interest and educational value, they are mere representations of how we put our values and beliefs into action. Our values are of primary importance in understanding what it is to be Indian; the material aspects are secondary. The study of Indian values helps increase the meaning of the material culture. So we must insure a cultural depth in our lessons.

My primary point is to urge you to recognize the importance of critiquing, redesigning and creating curriculum materials that relate to Indian culture and to become involved somehow and somewhere in the process. We all have an important role to play in educating others, and one another, about our cultures. Maintain a list of interesting facts that can be implemented as a specific subject area classroom idea. Network with educators you'll meet here at the conference. Enlist their cooperation in later translating your ideas into the commonly accepted lesson plan format. Consider ways Indian values can be studied in depth. If you can't become involved in *writing* curriculum, you can still contribute your input by *reviewing* and *critiquing* curriculum, including teacher lessons, textbooks, films, supplementary materials, library books and other resources. We must continue the ongoing task of eliminating racist and sexist materials from school use.

In addition to our roles as attorneys, mothers, health professionals, college students, social scientists, or tribal officials, we're *all* educators. I need not remind you that there are not a great number of people in the dominant society who are as excited about this task as we are; and if we leave it up to them to create our materials for us, it will be a long time coming. So let's do it; let's impact the

curriculum for the benefit of our children and for the enlightenment of all. *(Supplemental curriculum materials and informative lists are available from the American Indian Commission, 450 North Grand Avenue, Suite C-100, Los Angeles, Calif. 90012).*

ADDENDUM

Changing Times and Changing Roles Of Alaska Native Women

[THIS ADDRESS WAS PRESENTED AT THE ALASKA NATIVE WOMEN'S STATEWIDE CONFERENCE, ANCHORAGE, ALASKA, MAY 1979.]

Rosita Worl *(Tlingit)*

Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Arctic Environmental Information and Data Center, University of Alaska at Anchorage; Harvard Traveling Scholar; Chairperson, First Alaska Native Women's Statewide Caucus, 1977; extensively published on topics including Alaska Native subsistence cultures and Eskimo whaling societies.

In this period of continued and accelerated change, many issues distinguish Alaska Native women from those of Alaska Natives in general and those of non-Native women. Complex issues pose grave ramifications for the future of our children and the survival of our cultures. We may assume that we are in a process of transformation from either:

- A traditional or tribal culture to that of a completely modern or Western state, or
- A traditional or tribal culture to that which encompasses manifestations of both traditional and Western societies.

We have no choice about change. Change has been an adaptive strategy which has allowed our cultural evolution and survival for thousands of years. Change under normal processes should not imply extinction; however, Alaska Natives have been subjected to change which has been enforced and directed by those who desire our land and resources. Under the guise of beneficent motives to give us the fruits of Western ideologies, beliefs, and the civilized state, we surrendered our land and marine resources — the essence of our very beings.

Today we should and must plan for our future and that of our children. Should we become totally and passively assimilated into the dominant culture, succumbing to Western pressures which place women at the bottom of the totem pole? Should we strive to continue our cultures' incorporating and altering cultural elements which enhance but do not conflict with our values? Although many liberal and progressive thinkers recognize the value and strength in cultural pluralism, this attitude is waning. As national interest and needs increasingly impinge on our land and resources, and as national needs are contrasted with our miniscule number and our cultural needs, our cultures are viewed as expendable.

Three areas of discussion are particularly relevant to our cultural heritage, our relationship to the Federal government, and our relationship to Western societies, particularly American.

THE STATUS OF NATIVE WOMEN IN TRADITIONAL SOCIETIES

Within traditional Native culture, the woman maintains a significant role in the economic system. She provides a substantial portion of the food supply by her harvesting activities, preserves the food, and manufactures the necessary clothing. She has complete charge of the early socialization and education of the young, perpetuating Native cultures by transmitting a valuable body of knowledge accumulated through the centuries. Many early historical accounts of explorers note the commanding position of the Native women in different societies. She rules her domain while men are left to theirs. She is a valuable, contributing member of society.

Viewed from this perspective, it is understandable that Native women should take a leading interest in the maintenance of subsistence economies. When the State's subsistence bill was before the House in 1978, more than 20 Alaska Native women on a field training trip elected to visit the legislature. Their personal discussions with the legislators and their dominant presence had an apparent influence on the legislators and the passage of HB960, which authorized subsistence as the first priority use of wildlife resources. I would caution Alaska Native women that subsistence is potentially threatened even from within our own societies. We must carefully scrutinize and evaluate our Native corporations to insure that their activities do not pose any conflicts with our subsistence cultures.

NATIVE WOMEN AND THE FEDERAL RELATIONSHIP

The special trust relationship we have with the Federal government is embodied in the United States Constitution, Congressional acts, judicial decisions, and Presidential proclamations. The

honor of the United States and the Indian tribes was at stake when Chief Justice Marshall, in the highest court in this land, defined the relationship existing between these two entities as one between a country and its dependent sovereign nations.

The administrative technicians of Indian affairs and those who advocate termination of that special relationship have sought to degenerate the dependent sovereign state to that of "wards of the government." That special relationship which is deeply embedded in legal principles is also founded in the American ethics and conscience, which will allow them to overtly advocate cultural genocide.

We must be thoroughly familiar with the Federal-Native legal relationship issue and aware of the consequences posed by termination. As Native women we must concern ourselves with several issues within the realm of the Federal-Native relationship. The foremost example of discrimination against Native women is the denial of special Native Federal services to non-Native males married to Native women. Native men who marry non-Native women can confer on them the services Natives are entitled to . I am not suggesting that non-Native husbands of Native women should receive benefits; however, I suggest that the services should be equally extended or denied to both non-Native wives and husbands of Natives. Although Native women married to non-Natives do not lose their rights, they have often been denied access to services. Native women must always adopt a watchful stance to ensure the security of their rights.

The second issue I raise relative to Federal-Alaska Native trust is the right to aboriginal claim compensation, which according to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) is denied to our children born after its passage on December 18, 1971. Reportedly, more than 10,000 Native children have been born since 1971. Many mothers have children who have 100 shares in their corporations while their other children have less or none at all. Since economic considerations govern the decisions of our corporations, regions with the potential for the greatest wealth may eventually pay higher dividends to fewer stockholders unless all our children are enrolled as shareholders. The inequity among our children poses a threat for the future unity of our people. Conflicts among those who are enrolled and those who are not promise to intensify as the number of disenfranchised Native children increases. How many of our children are not sharing in the aboriginal lands which our ancestors steadfastly safeguarded for them? With the diminishing number of Natives enrolled under ANCSA, we must take care to ensure that our relationship to the Federal government does not come to be viewed as resting within the term of

ANCSA, which may be interpreted by some as the termination vehicle.

NATIVE WOMEN'S RELATIONSHIP TO WESTERN SOCIETIES

In Western society we share inequities with non-Native women. A common assumption is that as Native women move from traditional to modern societies, they move from inequality to equality. I reject the assumption that we hold an inferior position in our traditional culture and that modern societies offer us equality. In my Tlingit society, I am known as Yeidiklats'okk, Chakk', Shangookeidee, Xeitl Hit. In Western marriage ceremonies, we are "given away" by our fathers. We are expected to assume our husband's name. In my Tlingit culture, my children are born into my lineage; in the American society, children assume their father's name. I resent the secondary, subservient role and attitudes which seem to be expected by Western society. I submit that we Native women endure double discrimination — discrimination because we are women and because we are Native. I further reject claims that we are destroying our culture by asserting ourselves. On the contrary, I suggest that we are seeking to protect our culture and regain the status which our cultures accord us. I contend that what is perceived to be the passive and inferior role of Native women is as false the Hollywood Indian and is perpetuated by those who would keep us in positions of powerlessness. I know that many Native women are feeling guilty and uncertain about their involvement in activities which some say are for men alone. I suggest to you that we must be involved if we are to maintain what is sacred to us — our land and our culture.

We have much work to do. Not only must we continue to strive to protect our culture, values and Federal-Native relationships, but we must seek to redress the causes of our social traumas and seek equality within our own Native communities, organizations, and corporations. My sisters, I am sick and tired of the abuses and violence waged against Native women. I am sick and tired of hearing about Native women being ravaged, raped, and murdered. I am outraged by the continuing and pervasive discrimination in our educational system where our children are taught that we are hostile, warlike, simple, and primitive. I am incensed when I read articles which say we are failures because we lack modernization capabilities. I am outraged by the continued removal of our children from their communities.

In closing, I would like to take the liberty of paying special tribute to my mother. I am sure she is representative of many Alaska Native women who have gone unrecognized as "Native leaders." In my opinion, many Native women were and are in the

truest sense "leaders." Contrary to general thinking, which is already dominating our historical texts, Alaska Native leadership did not emerge with the land claims effort. Many of us are aware of Native women who were legitimate leaders, who maintained close contact and communication with us, who advocated our interests, and who lived among us.

My mother, Bessie Quinto, raised 12 children. Although they were not all her biological offspring, we were her children according to our custom. She resisted the imposition of the American social welfare system which sought to remove and save us from our Native culture and influences. She instilled in us a sense of pride to overcome the educational teaching, the religious proselytizing, and the racist attitudes of many members of the larger society which viewed us as uncivilized and inferior. Our sin was being Native. In spite of these pressures heaped upon us, she taught us to always know who we are and to stand with pride.

Although the history books have not acclaimed her, she, like so many other unrecognized Native women, was a leader. Bessie Quinto organized unions in the salmon canneries. She attempted to equalize the pay and benefits to match those of non-Natives who worked alongside us but received twice the pay and benefits. Her premature death did not allow her to continue the struggles against the inequities which still face many Native people working in salmon canneries, if they are even able to obtain these jobs that are increasingly taken over by non-Alaskans.

Bessie Quinto sought to overcome the injustices waged against other minorities who, like the Natives, endured the indignities of racism and discrimination. The Filipinos, known as "Filipino boys" regardless of their maturity or status, were relegated to the kitchens even in our armed services to serve members of the dominant society. She, along with other Native women, formed an organization devoted to fighting discrimination.

The spirit of her work lives on. If she were alive, she would be alongside us, encouraging and demanding that we seek to resolve the inequities which face Alaska Native women.

The daughters of Bessie Quinto would like to wish Alaska Native women success in their efforts to enhance and maintain their status and culture.

Steps Toward Native Leadership

[THIS KEYNOTE ADDRESS WAS PRESENTED AT THE ALASKA NATIVE WOMEN'S STATEWIDE ORGANIZATION CONFERENCE, ANCHORAGE, ALASKA, MAY 1981.]

Shirley Hill Witt *(Akwesasne Mohawk)*

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Some months ago in separate, independent acts of emancipation, my friend Ada Deer and I declared ourselves tribal elders with all the rights and responsibilities thereto pertaining. Each of us is fast approaching the projected life expectancy calculated for Native Americans, and that being the case, we feel it is high time to begin imparting some of our accumulated wisdom, as imperfect as it may be. We declared ourselves tribal elders, "But, " said Ada, "no one was listening!"

Today, on this most pleasant occasion of your second annual Alaska Native Women's Statewide Organization conference, I am taking my first step into the advice-giving business. I have never preached a sermon before, so I will ask for your patience right now at the beginning. I've never been a tribal elder before, either, for that matter.

Some years ago in my first brave step into national Indian politics, I found myself in a group of college-educated Native people which formed into the National Indian Youth Council. It was a glorious experience except for one continuing problem which has never been solved by the NIYC or other Native national organizations even today: the problem of equal rights for Native women. Our group included strong and assertive Iroquois, Navajo, Ute, Winnebago and Shoshone-Bannock women who were accustomed to developing opinions on policy matters in our own lives, and

having those opinions accepted and respected by our families and communities. But several of the males in NIYC were from strong male-dominated cultures, notably Plains tribes, who were incapable of giving as equal value to "women's words" as they did to "men's words."

Centuries ago in Iroquois legend and history, the women solved that problem once and for all time to come. As the legend goes, the Iroquois males found great job satisfaction in spending most of their time pouncing on neighboring tribes, seeking to make America safe from Algonkianism, perhaps. This persistent warfare finally led to a sitdown strike by the women. One evening when the warriors at last returned home, they found neither fires to warm them nor food prepared, nor smiles on the women's faces. The Head Clan Mother, the *Royadne*, spoke for all the women. She said, "There will be no warm place for you to rest, no food for you to eat, no women to share your bed, nor children for you to enjoy, — until you surrender to the women the right to decide when you will or will not go to war. Because after a war, it is the women who weep." History does not tell us how long the men held out against the demand, but since that time, the Iroquois women have maintained a strong symbiotic role with men in the governance of the Iroquois people.

That story may give us a strategy to use with our husbands or collectively within our tribes and communities, but it is not really useful when we are faced with male-dominated organizations.

Today I intend to share with you ideas and observations which might help with your climb to leadership. The fact is that you would not be here today if you were not headed for leadership.

There will be eight topics for your consideration. Wherever I can, I will cite the Native woman from whom I received an idea or a quote, so you will see that many of your sisters are thinking about these matters very seriously.

Set your goals and reset your goals. Women of all colors in America tend to bump along without long-term goals. We make one short-term decision after another until we look back one day and see that we have had no design or logic to our lives. And we are not where we want to be. Men definitely *are* different in this respect. A number of short-term steps may be necessary to join together in order to reach your goals; skills, for instance, or educational steps. But you owe yourself the discipline of sitting down and looking at your life as a whole picture, not as a series of snapshots. And from time to time, you will have to review your progress and your goals. Yvonne Bushyhead, a Cherokee leader, reminds us that our motivations grow as we grow in skills and competency. Pamela Iron challenges us "to have and keep our dreams, our

inspirations and our own plans." Only you can design and carry them out.

Respect your people and yourself. Our communities, our tribes and nations, our Native corporations and organizations are all under terrific pressure to fail. We far too often help those who seek the downfall of our society. Let us not be part of the pressure. Let us help lift that burden with patience and strength, or else get out of the way so that others can help lift it. Do not help those who seek our demise. Do you think it would be possible for each of you to resolve not to say anything unkind about another Native person for a week, for a month? Let's try it. We must respect others if we ourselves want respect.

Invest in self-development. Nurture your self-image like the delicate plant it is; grow your own self-confidence. Throw out guilt like old weeds. Dear Abby, who is rarely wrong, calls guilt "the cancer of the soul." Yesterday is yesterday, and we can learn from our mistakes and those of others. Harriett Skye, an outstanding Sioux leader, reflected on this. She said:

> "It's important to find you can make mistakes. I've learned that . . . I can make mistakes and not brood over them. So many of us are afraid of that, afraid of what people will say. But you can't grow without making mistakes. They're something to grow on."

Also, we can afford to be both strong and loving at the same time. Yvonne Bushyhead told of the women of her people. She said, "The women were so strong that they were soft and gentle. They were the center, what life revolved around in our (Cherokee) communities."

In our modern world, Carolyn Attneave warns that "Someone has to be at the level where policies are being discussed in order to benefit women and Indian programs." That someone is you. As your self-image grows, so will your level of commitment.

Self-doubt will always lurk just below the surface. Yvonne Bushyhead wondered, "How can *I* be the only one who's right?" Or, to use that old Rudyard Kipling rewrite, "If you can keep your head while all around you others are losing theirs and blaming it on you, perhaps you just haven't grasped the situation."

Finally, in the task of self-development, we must be strong enough to share our information, our motivation, our dreams and our problems with our sisters. There is a great need for us to be groomed by other Native women who have been in the good fight, to learn their contacts and how to do things, as Pamela Iron counsels.

Seek out the training and leadership skills you need. At a recent conference of American Indian and Alaska Native women held in Tahlequah, Okla., Mary Jo Cole recognized the reality that oftentimes Native women are late bloomers, getting back into education after a tilt at marriage, and are often accompanied by minor children while working for high school certification or college degrees. Dr. Clara Sue Kidwell's landmark study of Native women in higher education underscores that point.

Our preparation is often spotty and erratic. This we can work on once we take a clear look at our long-term goals and the steps necessary to reach them.

But there are little tricks which can help in day-to-day work. Several women in Tahlequah suggested these:

- Put things in writing.
- Do your follow-up chores.
- Don't put things aside; put the rotten jobs on the *top* of the pile and *do* them.
- Make and receive no calls till after 1:00 p.m.
- Be an anthropologist: learn the bureaucracy so that you know who and what runs it.
- Listen to your voice on tape and work on lowering it.
- Lose weight.

We are responsible for the state of our health. Marjorie Bear Don't Walk and Ada Deer have stressed that, "The foods we take in, our attitudes (toward smoking, drinking, exercise and eating) affect our ability to think and to analyze, and . . . as a result . . . (we) function at a much lower level (than what we are truly capable of)."

The remaining advice in this area was offered by Mary Jo Cole who underscored the value of taking careful stock and taking time — or time out — to secure further training to meet our additional needs as leaders.

Accept your obligations to your people. This probably should have been suggestion Number One, because it does loom as the most important thread in our lives. Owanah Anderson observed that "Our commonality as this continent's first people should make us recognize that we need to work as one, gathering direction . . . for the new course now facing us."

Community service characterizes the motivation of the vast majority of Native women I have met during my career. Kidwell's report echoes this point. When Pamela Iron exclaimed, "How much gratification there is when your own community seeks you out for help!" I thought of the former Chair of the Puyallup Nation, Ramona Bennett, who said, "There is no greater honor possible

. . . (no) other honor or glory could be greater than being honored by my people."

Remember that males are only human. At conference after conference Native women groan about the sexism they must deal with day after day, sexism created and perpetuated by males without regard to race, creed, age, religion, or national origin. It is a real and often crippling problem. To survive in the White man's world, there are three things we can do to mitigate the situation.

- Seek out other women with whom you can share constructive ideas and problems. Non-Native women are finding it as bad as we are, so don't you discriminate against them, too.
- Stop looking for fairness. "We've got to stop looking for things to be fair, because things aren't fair. You have to be twice as good (as males and non-Native women),"says Mary Jo Cole.
- Ultimately, your survival will depend on your view of yourself and the role of your grandmothers. If we can pull the strength of our mothers around our shoulders like a shawl, we can prevail. After that, says Dr. Annie Dodge Wauneka of the Navajo Nation, "We cannot afford to sit with our arms folded and wait for responsibility to come to us. Indian women must strive to share decision making."

Order your commitments to family and career. Conflicts are bound to arise in any two-career family and it takes a great deal of patience and sensitivity to work them out equitably. Underline *equitably*. You owe your husband, your children and others in your family complete honesty about your plans. The hope is to include them in our career design while not bending theirs all out of shape. I have from time to time felt regret about the way I dragged my children from state to state and reservation to reservation while I sought after my goals. We all survived it, even despite my heavy handedness, but I would recommend greater democracy in decision making.

Away from our families, perhaps with only the children and no husband, loneliness and a sense of isolation can be crushing. For me, the children and the feeling of being a part of a large web of relatives no matter where I was sustained me through the dark nights. The fact is that in order to pursue our stars, we must sometimes leave behind those who are most dear to us. Anne Marr Medicine once said, "I've had to make some trade-offs . . . in order to do my thing I have to move away from home. I'm caught adrift because I have to move physically farther and farther away."

There are other kinds of problems. There is what some people call "controlled schizophrenia," when you must act and behave one way at work or in school and in a totally different way when you are with your family. Elma Patterson cautions us to remember both

ways or we may end up with nothing.

And then there is the problem of confidentiality for those who work in Native organizations or positions where Native people are clients. Family members may well press you for "inside information." A questionnaire circulated by a tribal mental health service elicited complaints such as, "The mental health (workers) should be more reliable (in) helping Indians and not disclosing their personal problems to the whole reservation. Maybe they would have better results."

And then there is nepotism. It all comes together for Pamela Iron. She said:

> "When I changed to an administrator position, I noticed that people began to treat me differently, but after awhile it got back to normal. But then I had to fire my cousin. My mother called and said I'd blown everything. I told her it was none of her business. After awhile my cousin called me and said he understood why I had to do it, and no hard feelings."

Elma Patterson stressed that "confidentiality is extremely important to keep, but sometimes our family members think they have a right to get confidential information from us." The answer has to be "no."

Accept the future with your whole heart and mind. The leadership that is yours to embrace can fall to the ground like dust if you do not accept it. Ada Deer says that:

> "We can't hope that someone else is going to do (the job). If it's going to get done, we need to do it. We have to get the skills, we have to change the attitudes about ourselves, we have to be willing to withstand the criticism that is going to come not only from our own community, but from outside the community, that we are often out on the limb and feel that we are there by ourselves. But I think if we look at the overall need, the overall goal, that it is worth it to go out on the limb, because if we don't do this, the progress that is necessary for our people is not going to occur."

Janet McCloud, a great leader of her people, says that, "The main concern of Indian women traditionally has been survival — just pure, simple survival. That's still our main goal today — for our people, our families and ourselves. We are real women, not just flowers in a vase, but real flowering plants with roots, with directions and a future."

The Iroquois admonish us to remember that "Our political decisions must be made and based upon their impact on the next seven generations," and that "the wisdom of the elders is our seed for

the future."

Sisters, are you ready to reach for your destiny?

Indian Women As Change Agents For Indian Policy

[THIS ADDRESS WAS PREPARED FOR THE OHOYO EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, TAHLEQUAH, OKLA., APRIL 1981.]

Ethel Krepps *(Kiowa/Miami)*

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AREAS IN WHICH INDIAN WOMEN ARE ACTIVE

I am in a position to see Indian women as change agents in many vital areas. First, as a practicing attorney, I am aware of Indian women and their involvement in advancing legal arguments in which Indian people are the beneficiaries.

Second, as a licensed registered nurse and the national vice-president of the American Indian - Alaska Native Nurses Association, I am aware of health issues in which Indian women are formulating policy to Indian health problems.

Third, as a member of the governing body of my tribe, I have had the opportunity to travel on behalf of the tribe to present testimony on issues and also attend national conferences and conventions and observe personally what Indian women are doing on a national scale to advance Indian rights, causes and Indian self-determination.

Fourth, as an Indian student currently participating in the Masters in Business Administration in Tribal Management (MBA/TM), at Northeastern State University in Oklahoma, and having previously obtained the degrees of R.N., B.S. and J.D. through formal education, I am aware of the concern of Indian women as both students and educators as they lobby educational upgrading benefits and opportunities that will benefit all Indian people.

In all these critical areas I have seen Indian women acting as

change agents for Indian policy as they are involved in all areas in various Indian issues and are advancing Indian rights, interests and self-determination.

As an Indian woman involved within the national Indian community, I see how Indian women of today respond to Indian issues either as individuals or within Indian women's organizations.

INDIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN WHICH INDIAN WOMEN ARE ACTING AS CHANGE AGENTS

I observe Indian women as change agents operating within organizations and changing or implementing Indian policy as that policy affects Indian people. Today's Indian woman is visible in many organizations. Some of the organizations are: North American Indian Women's Association, Inter-Agency Task Force on American Indian Women, National Congress of American Indians, Native American Rights Fund, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indian Health Service, American Indian-Alaska Native Nurses Association, Native American Coalition, and National Indian Education Association.

Indian women are also involved in tribal governments, either as tribal chairpersons or judges and are serving on tribal councils or tribal committees. Indian women are acting as change agents in the formation and implementation of Indian policy in many organizations and on many issues.

FACTORS THAT MAKE INDIAN WOMEN CHANGE AGENTS

Indian women are a unique blend of tradition and contemporary make-up. They must have a wide command of abilities, skills and also have broad knowledge of Indian issues to be an effective Indian woman leader. They must not only be aware of Indian issues, they must be aware of and understand the unique relationship which Indian people have with the United States government. Indian women must also be aware of their individual tribal culture and tradition, and they must be knowledgeable of current non-Indian issues such as equal opportunity, affirmative action, and civil rights.

HOW INDIAN WOMEN ARE ACTING AS EFFECTIVE CHANGE AGENTS

As women of all colors struggle to establish themselves as equals in today's world, Indian women face a truly difficult challenge. They not only face the same challenges for equality as other women, but they face many additional differences which must be overcome if they are to be effective change agents.

First, Indian women must determine for themselves where their interest is regarding Indian issues. All areas of Indian issues are

critical for Indian people, so in whatever area an Indian woman decides her interest or talent lies, she could be an effective change agent.

Second, after she has determined her particular area of interest and concern, she should continue to be aware of what other benefits Indian organizations are striving to obtain for Indian people and be supportive of their efforts as well.

- The area of education seems to be very critical as Indian women are in the process of catching up after years of being denied the opportunity for an education due to various factors, whether it was an early marriage, or living in a remote area far from a serious academic setting, or even tribal custom which might have prevented the Indian woman from obtaining an adequate education. Whatever the factors involved, Indian women have been denied too long the opportunity for an equal education.
- In the health area, Indian women as nurses and administrators are struggling against truly outrageous problems regarding the health of Indian people. Serious problems regarding rampant diabetes, cirrhosis of the liver, and simple problems regarding proper health care and prevention of disease.
- In the legal field, knowledge and insight are being gained in legal rights. Heretofore, Indian people have been denied these rights because they had no advocate to advance their legal arguments. The "Maine Land Case," in which the Penobscot and Passamoquoddy tribes were awarded millions of dollars and thousands of acres after their legal arguments were raised in state court proceedings, is a case in point.
- Indian tribes, under P.L. 93-638, are being allowed the opportunity to become self-governing and sovereign in their own right.

These are only a few of the critical areas facing Indian women today as they strive to become effective change agents. All of these responsibilities weigh upon the shoulders of Indian women as they strive to uphold themselves, their Indian sisters, their respective tribes and all other Indian individuals and families. They must also balance their responsibility to their families.

INSIGHT REGARDING THE CRITICAL INDIAN ISSUES

Indian women as change agents have to be equally skilled at raising the issues, making the arguments and presenting the solutions which are most acceptable to the Indian community; all the while saying just enough to make change, but not saying too much to cause an anti-Indian backlash.

AREAS WHERE INDIAN WOMEN CAN BE EFFECTIVE CHANGE AGENTS

The following areas seem to be the most crucial issues in need of effective change:

- Equal opportunity needs to become a reality.
- The economic status of Indian women needs to be drastically improved.
- Indian women need to be moved into positions where they can have input into policy affecting Indians.
- Formal education must be made readily available to a certain percentage of the total number of Indian women per population.
- Alternative opportunities to formal education need to be made available to Indian women.
- Indian women need to be made aware of health issues specifically involving the future of the Indian people which involve obtaining their consent, i.e., sterilization and other surgical procedures, and family planning instructions.
- There should be more Indian women represented in the tribal governments and managing tribal resources. After all, at least half of a given tribe are women. The practice of oppressing Indian women in tribal government should cease.
- Indian women need to be consulted on other issues effecting the future of Indian people such as the definition of an Indian.

All women have the challenge to become change agents. We need to collect ourselves as a group resource to provide for the betterment of all Indian women, whatever skills or talents we have to offer, so as to maximize the skills and talents of all Indian women. A chain of Indian women is only as strong as its weakest link. When the average overall GS grade level for Indian women employed by IHS is 4.88, it is a reflection on all Indian women and their ability to be a productive wage earner or head of household.

THE FUTURE OF INDIAN WOMEN

If we are to become effective change agents, a look backward is good, for we have come some distance from yesterday. The look at where we are today is still not that bright. However, the most important time frame for Indian women to be striving for is the future if we are to be truly effective change agents. Something constructive must take place. Action is necessary. What future changes will we plan for our young Indian children? What will their future be like 100 years from now? Will Indian women still be the lowest paid worker; will her voice still be silent around the tribal council or conference table; will her economic stratification be more pronounced even than it is today? The society of Indian women of the future won't be much different than today's unless we

make the earnings of Indian women equal to those of others, nor will the situation improve unless we raise her opportunities to obtain an equal education so she can compete with advanced job skills.

Some Indian women of the future may still choose the traditional way of life and continue to live on Indian reservations. However, she must be afforded the opportunity of choice. She must not be prevented from achieving full economic or social equality if she so desires. Indian women are born and live for the same reasons that any other human being is born and lives. They work for the same reasons that other people who work must work, for economic security, and their basic necessities of life are the same as other employees. Her self-actualization and desires for a fulfilling life are the same.

During the next 100 years, progress for American Indian women will depend upon how willing Indian women are to work for and with each other as change agents. Unity for progress is essential. Change is inevitable. The question becomes: what kind of change agent today will be effective and sufficient enough to change this situation 100 years from now?

There are important questions of policy still ahead and Indian women need to be a part of that policy making as effective change agents.

Historical Perspectives: The Dakota Woman

[THIS ADDRESS WAS PRESENTED DURING INDIAN AWARENESS WEEK, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH DAKOTA, VERMILLION, NOVEMBER 1972.]

Yvonne June Wynde *(Sisseton-Wahpeton Dakota)*

Former Vice President of Standing Rock Community College; contributions to development of Oglala Sioux Community College and other tribally-controlled schools; presently pursuing doctorate degree, Harvard University. Massachusetts resident.

The role of Dakota men and women in traditional society has been forced to change but the importance these roles play in our lives cannot be swept aside. Prior to the early 1800s the primary role of women was to build and maintain the family dwelling, take care of domestic chores, care for younger children, and teach the female children the crafts and skills they would need to fulfill their position in life. The role of Dakota men was to provide food and materials for clothing and dwellings through hunting and to protect family life and the community from danger and encroachment. Men were the companions and teachers of boys, preparing them for their role in traditional life. In addition to these basic roles, other men and women functioned as healers, artists and guardians of tribal tradition.

As we know, however, very shortly thereafter, the role of the Plains Indians was to change drastically. The war between the Dakotas and the United States Army reached its peak during the mid-1800s. The battle of Little Big Horn took place in 1876; the General Allotment Act was passed in 1887; and the Dakota reservations were established in the latter part of the century. Thus, the Plains Indians could no longer be hunters — buffalo, the main sustenance of physical life and religious survival, were nearly depleted by Whites in the 1870s. Restriction to reservation areas prohibited further hunting and the end of armed conflict curtailed the men's defense of their families and home life. The traditional

roles of the Dakota men practically disappeared. The loss of traditional roles and their very manhood was evident in many areas.

During this transition, the role of the Dakota women changed little; traditional chores were adapted to changing circumstances and women shouldered additional tasks. They were still the providers and maintainers of home life and they still cared for children. Previously, they had dried and tanned the hides of wild animals, but after 1870, and the near annihilation of buffalo, they prepared the flesh of cattle and tanned the hides of domestic animals. Tipis were still contructed but now they used canvas. Added responsibilities included confronting government and church people in regard to changes Whites wanted to make in their life-stlyes. Women became the decision makers with regard to educating their children and deciding the use of their property.

The role of Dakota children in society also changed. As a result, they now have several deficiencies, including the lack of positive cultural and self-image. False portrayals of Indians and false representation of Indian life in television and Hollywood movies, in books and school textbooks, bear some of the blame. The mass media exemplifies the ideal of womanhood as the blond, blue-eyed, slim woman. Buffy St. Marie admits that as a child she wanted to be blond. In T.V. commercials we see the blond kid who not only wins the ping pong game, but walks off with the girl, too. Children get the message that to be dark is to be a loser. We, as Dakotas, should not only challenge the mass media and the educational systems to make meaningful changes in their mediums, but we should develop our own media for educating our children. The reading and visual materials currently used in schools give children inaccurate portrayals of American Indians. In many sources we are referred to as heathens, pagans, squaws, papooses, savages, and many other derogatory terms. How can we fulfill our responsibility and change this situation? For the most part, the philosophy of schools our children attend promote the idea that the end result of education is competition and getting ahead of the next guy. Success is to make more and more money, and the way to make money is to exploit people — our people. One may ask why our own Dakota philosophy and philosophers do not have an impact on the schools. More Indian women and men should sit on school boards to help develop relevant curricular material and to review books which our children are using.

Indian girls are particularly in need of relevant role models. White society has honored certain Indian women who conform to their own likes and values. Thus, in the area of ballet, there is Maria Tallchief; in music there is folk-singer, Buffy St. Marie. Of course, there is Pocahontas, who was supposed to have saved a White man from death. Status-seeking Whites have always been

ready to claim descent from her. And, then, there is the Bird Woman who led Lewis and Clark to fame and a place in history.

White values are also reflected in the false assumption that while a White woman wouldn't think of going to bed with a man of another race, Indian women are perfectly willing to bed down with Whites. Thus, many Whites favor stories of frontiersmen, trappers and fur traders who took Indian wives despite the fact that those White men generally mistreated Indian women. Seth Eastman, artist and commander of the army post in Fort Snelling, Minn., took a Dakota wife, the daughter of Mahpia Wicasta (Cloud Man), had a child by her, then left them for a White woman (Mary Eastman), who wrote a biased book on the Dakota people. Charbonneau used his wife as a punching bag on more than one occasion.

These values conveyed through schools and media have injured traditional, previously positive, attitudes of Dakotas toward their women. In our traditions there were ceremonies to honor important events in the lives of children, both boys and girls. Young girls who had reached womanhood were honored in an elaborate rite. After recounting the greatness of her tribe, the honoree was told that the tribe walked in the footsteps of a woman. She was also reminded of the virtues she would need to cultivate in her quest for womanhood such as modesty, reservedness and duty. In the traditional Sun Dance ceremonial, women played an important part in bringing in the center pole. There have also been societies formed by women. One good example is the Guild of Southern Cheyenne Women, which organized the best bead workers group, meeting to make tipis, tipi linings and other articles.

Unlike White society, Indian society has honored its aging as well as young women. An Indian woman has increasing authority in community life as she grows older. If one wonders why she had to walk several paces behind her husband, we know it was a protective device. The men in front protected those who followed. While we are on this subject, we may remark that the Plains Indian had a matrilineal culture. That is, the men joined their wives' family.

With traditional views of women being weakened by the White media, one may ask about the present attitudes of Indian men toward Indian women. Have men's minds been manipulated by the mass media and the educational institutions of this country? Have they readily accepted the White, middle-class norms? One instructor at the University of Minnesota said that in order to succeed in this White-dominated society, men will have to marry the White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant woman. Without impugning their motives, it is interesting to note that men in leadership positions such as Vine Deloria, Sr., Vine Deloria, Jr., Pulitzer Prize winner N.

Scott Momaday, Congressman Ben Riefel, and artist Oscar Howe, and many others too numerous to mention, have married White women. One wonders if Indian men tend to look at Indian women in terms of the squaw-image stereotype that has pervaded this country.

Keeping these problems in mind, we must ask how we, as Indian women, can be supportive to Indian men, particularly those who cling to traditional Dakota values. We shouldn't expect them to fit in the same roles as White men. We want to respect and honor the integrity of Indian men in the best traditional Dakota sense of the word — the integrity that has sustained the Dakota communities for several thousand years.

And how should Indian men treat their women? Dakota women need to be honored in our own way. We should be supportive of the continuance of traditional women's societies. We need to acknowledge and give recognition to the many dedicated community workers that are trying to promote the humanitarian causes of our people. In the modern world, Indian women have a variety of roles. They are nurses, teachers, tribal council officers and administrators. We need to give recognition to Alvina Greybear; Mrs. Agnes Ross; the works of Sister Margaret Hawk, Episcopal Church army worker; Mrs. Evelyn Bergen, educator; the late Ella Deloria, and many others. On the national level, recognition should be given Ada Deer, the first woman chair of the Menominees, and outstanding artists such as Ottalie Lolama, Pablita Velarde, Helen Hardin, Linda Lomahaftewa, and Grace Medicine Flower. The efforts of these people must be praised. We need to be aware of dedicated women like Annie Dodge Wauneka, who, during the Kennedy Administration in 1963, received the highest award given to civilians, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, for helping the Navajo people in the field of health, particularly in the fight against tuberculosis. She is the first woman elected to serve on the Navajo Tribal Council.

We must learn to give recognition to our people but not necessarily in the superficial style of the "Miss America" pageant. There is something incongruent about Indian women in traditional costume, holding a bouquet of roses and wearing a tiara. We know that different cultures have their own concepts of beauty. Yet I feel, from my own personal experience of observing and overhearing remarks from Dakotas, that White society has influenced our ideas of beauty. Fortunately, there are still some Indian people who have expressed a deep, sensitive and positive feeling for the beauty of Indian women. This comes through in some artistic works such as "Herding Sheep" by Alan Houser, "The Corn Grinder" by Stanley Battese, "The Corn Ceremony" by Narciso Abeyta (Ha-So-De), "Squaw Dance" by Andy Tsinahjinnie, "The Desert

Rider" by Ed Lee Natay, "LaLakonti Ceremony" by Fred Kabotie, "Navajo Woman on a Horse" by Gerald Nailor. Harrison Begay, Quincy Tohoma, Beatien Yazz, R.C. Gorman and Oscar Howe are some of the other artists who have used Indian women as subjects in their creative expression. Much of the Indian feeling for beauty is expressed in the type of clothing that was traditional to the various Native groups of this country and in contemporary styles made from modern materials. Traditionally, Dakotas have some of the most beautiful clothes in the world — the beadwork and porcupine quillwork reveal fine elements of design and quality craftsmanship. There are creative innovations such as the utilization of available metals in jingle dresses; fringe suggests awareness of the beauty of body movements and movements of the prairie wind.

Some of the outstanding traditional art work is done by Indian women as are some of the baskets, pottery and weaving. It is unfortunate that local artists and craftsmen are not given the recognition they deserve. They, as much as the more renowned artists, are teachers and perpetuators of this part of Indian culture.

I am not advocating a simplistic return to the traditional way of life, but there are some Dakota values that I feel are important to hold on to in our encounter with the modern world:

- The kinship system should be retained. No matter where we are, we have the human need for love and for belonging. Our children need the five or six grandparents that we had.
- We need to hold onto the idea that good relationships between relatives and neighbors are worth cultivating.
- The Dakota philpsophy of life and Dakota values should be an integral part of shaping the values of young Indian men and women, particularly when even the young people of this country's dominant society are groping for enduring values in a crumbling society.

Let us look into our own lives and rekindle the richness and strength of our culture to pass on to our children. To strengthen our young is to strengthen the future of our tribe.

Indian Women Challenge The '80s

[THIS KEYNOTE ADDRESS WAS PRESENTED AT THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE, MADISON, WIS., JUNE 1981.]

Lenore Sweet *(Winnebago)*

Former Director of Education, Wisconsin Winnebago Tribe; served four-year term on the Winnebago Tribal Council. Resident of Wisconsin.

I believe that education is the key factor in the lives of all people. I say "all people" because it has been education of this country's people that is sadly lacking in several ways. It seems that this country had its origins when the revolution was over and further, Indians were non-existent in that revolution before or after. Social studies, history, English, medicine, law, ecology, psychology, literature and fine arts make no mention of Indians. The only time we are mentioned is either as a separate skill in the primitive arts, as primitive people, as savages who hinder the settlers, or more currently, as a specially diverse cultural group, a minority group.

I'm sure you have heard the comment made by non-Indians, Europeans or Whites, if you prefer to call them that: "Why should I feel guilty about what happened 200 years ago and have to keep paying for it?" Why is this comment made? I believe it is because they do feel guilty but don't really know why or want to admit it. Why hasn't the factual history been recorded in books that are used in public schools? Who writes the books? Who decides if they will be used in public school classrooms all across this country? Why doesn't someone or something let the past be known?

We as Indian people have been fighting many battles on many fronts, but I don't think we have all the facts together, either. Do your children know? Where will they learn the truth? Where will they learn the real principle of the Indian peoples' demise? In the 50s and 60s we were considered a vanishing people. Our population was estimated at between 200,000 and 250,000. Today the 1980 census estimates there are 1.4 million Indians in the United

States. We are making a comeback. In 1970 the Bureau of Census showed the American Indian population as the fastest growing population, percentage-wise. But, lo and behold! What will our children say when they learn the truth of why 3,400 Indians, women and men, were sterilized in 1976? And paid for by the Indian Health Service.

Statistically, the American Indians have shown up with the worst data whether it's lowest income or highest death or suicide rates. There are a myriad number of reasons for this. One of them being a special status or relationship Indian nations have with the Federal government. For years Indian people did not have control of their destiny. They were held on reservations like prisoners and under the rule of Bureau agents. Almost all tribes had treaties with the United States government which guaranteed a free, rosy life. However, it was not until much later in history that the United States government was made to live up to the promises in the treaties.

In 1887, the Dawes Act, or Allotment Act, was passed. It was believed at that time that if individual Indians were allotted their own pieces of land they would become prosperous farmers, finally able to take care of themselves. Well, as we all know, it didn't exactly work out that way. But the law did manage to get a lot of Indian land into the hands of settlers, traders, and ranchers all across the country. There was an effort by Indians to stop the law. In the year the Dawes Act was passed, 53 Indian leaders from 19 tribes met in Oklahoma and voted unanimously to oppose the law. But were they heard?

In 1924, Indian people were granted full citizenship, partly because of Indians serving in the First World War.

In 1934, the Indian Reorganization Act was enacted. This law gave tribes an option of going with a system alien to their traditional form of government. Again, many tribal leaders objected to the principle behind the law. Over the years laws and rules were established for the "good" of Indians, without full participation of the Indian people.

In 1974, another law was introduced and passed. I would like to read portions of that law to you, but it is pretty recent in history and I think you know which law I'm speaking of, and that is the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act. The purpose of this law is to provide and partly guarantee self-government of the Indian tribes. But that also has to be solved by the Worcester v. Georgia lawsuit that went to court in that state. That would set a precedent for other tribes to follow.

So, gradually, as laws were passed for the good of all of us, Indian

people became more sophisticated. We learned to fight in the courts. Gradually, step-by-step, we are gaining some ground, but we have many more battles to fight. Very few people know the special status of Indian people. We live in two worlds if we choose; we may choose to live completely in the non-Indian world, or entirely in the Indian world. It is not "either/or" for us. Perhaps that is fortunate for us. Perhaps we are more fortunate than other citizens in this country.

For myself, I have chosen both worlds. I am now completing a four-year term of office on our tribal council — the Wisconsin Winnebago Business Committee. It has not been a joy-ride, but neither has it been onerous. I believe it is a privilege, but a grave responsibility, to serve Indian people. There is no glory in it. I have plenty of detractors in the people I represent and those that elected me. And there were several attempts to remove me from office based on this information and lack of communication both ways. But it is also a political gain and I think we ought to realize that. I believe criticism is not all bad and it is to be expected. After all, not one of us is perfect. If the criticism and complaints are expressed in a factual, informed and unemotional manner, a person is more likely to be listened to. This applies to tribal governments as well as state and federal government, because we have that opportunity for our voice to be heard at all these levels; also at the local level.

I also serve on a State Superintendent's Advisory Council on Teacher Certification for the State of Wisconsin. I believe I can contribute and effect some changes. But, of course, this is only on a state level. I don't believe it is enough to work for change at the local and state levels, but we should consider what action is needed at the national level. There are national education organizations, both Indian and White, where some positive communications could be taking place. However, I also believe each one of us, individually, cannot be all things to all people. We do have limitations and cannot be effective persons if we try to be super-human. And that is what is happening, currently, because of the times that are changing. We receive so much information — there are so many things to do — the economics demand that the mother has to be out working to help the family.

For example, in 1980, I was the education director for the tribe in addition to serving on many boards, being on the tribal council, being a mother and having a husband at home, too, of course. A very understanding one, at that. I went to work from about 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. On one particular day I had tribal council that started at 6:00 p.m. So that gave me time to have supper in between. That tribal council meeting lasted from 6 o'clock until 4 o'clock the next morning. I had a meeting at 8:00 a.m. the next morning with an education consultant from Colorado. Fortu-

nately, his plane was a little bit late, but I did meet with him that entire day, with our full education department, striving to do some things for our Winnebago people. At 6 o'clock that evening we were expected to be at a banquet in Black River Falls, and so we went there. I did not arrive home until 12:00 that night. I strongly believe that as a parent, a mother and a wife I can make some changes. But I am needed in all of these places, and it was not possible within the 24-hour period. So I am suggesting to you that each one of you look at your capabilities and work in those areas where you feel you can have the most effect. But, if we string ourselves out too far we cannot meet our obligations. We cannot make a strong effect. I have not traveled nationwide because I feel that this is not where my strong points are. I feel that I can do more here at home with state and local departments. Each of us, individually, can do something. I hope this individual commitment will help make our people stronger.

Indian Women And Feminism

[THIS SPEECH WAS PRESENTED AT THE OHOYO CONFERENCE, ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX., SEPTEMBER 1979.]

Leslie R. Wolfe

Director, Women's Educational Act Program, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, D.C.
Ph.D., English, University of Florida, 1970.

I am honored to be with you at this important conference. This is a splendid group. You represent 23 states and the District of Columbia; you are from cities and rural reservations, and sometimes both, in the course of a life; and you represent 40 tribal identifications. You are feminists and traditionalists — and the two are not mutually exclusive. You believe in women and in the preservation and restoration of your tribal heritage. This is a difficult but essential combination. And so I also want to pay tribute to you as representatives of a unique tradition which offers inspiration to contemporary feminists — the heritage of the clan mother. They are a model of the true principles of feminism and sisterhood. We have to learn from each other and from our various backgrounds. I have learned much of sharing, spiritual unity and emotional support from my sisters who are here today.

As you do, I value those wise women leaders of your many tribal pasts. I know that Indian women traditionally held positions of honor and leadership and often experienced significant personal freedom. Iroquois clan mothers, for example, chose the chiefs and judged them; the Apache elected women chiefs; Cherokee women voted in the selection of chiefs and were educated equally with men. Many tribes traced descent (logically) through the mother's line; in many, the focus of economic power was in the mother's home, to which daughters brought their husbands.

Indeed, Indian women had more independence, respect, power, and security within their tribal structures than did the White, European women who came to these shores with their husbands. These women were the possessions of a series of men — father, husband, son — and kept in a dependent status in every area of

their lives. The invasion of the White man did much to destroy Indian women's traditional roles and to impose European notions of patriarchy on the Native tribes. This they call "acculturation" or "civilization."

The primary goal of the women's movement of the nineteenth century was to achieve what many of your foremothers already had in their own tribes, the right to vote. The early feminists recognized that the first step to real freedom for all women is legal equality and the right to take part in the political and legislative process — to have a voice in the institutions which govern our lives.

You remember what Abigail Adams wrote to her husband, John, in 1776: "In the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation."

Of course, John and his colleagues ignored this demand. It took almost 100 years before the "rebellion" of which Adams spoke was initiated. The Declaration of Sentiments produced by the feminists at Seneca Falls (the heart of Iroquois country!) in 1848 enumerated almost every area of women's oppression: "The history of mankind is the history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward women, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her." The Declaration sees the primary denial of rights as the refusal to allow women to vote and participate in lawmaking. "Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides."

More than 100 years later, the descendants of these feminists met in Houston with similar declarations; we are still struggling for a constitutional guarantee of equality for all women — the Equal Rights Amendment.

During the past 15 years, we have re-learned what our foremothers knew: that there is no such thing as personal "liberation" in a society which discriminates against entire groups of people on the basis of immutable caste factors such as race and sex. Even though some of us, women of all races and ethnicities and minority men, achieve a measure of success, wealth, and even a little power, and thus feel "liberated," that individual success is merely tokenism unless we use our position to continue the strug-

gle against institutional sexism and racism.

All forms of oppression and inequality must be attacked with equal commitment and vehemence. Thus, all women's issues are minority issues, and feminists, by definition, must be anti-racist. The liberation of minority groups from racist oppression is a woman's issue and a feminist commitment.The women's movement would be unfulfilled and incomplete without the involvement of all women. In fact, we need a triple focus — a triple vision of discrimination, which addresses race discrimination, sex discrimination, and race-plus-sex discrimination. While these may manifest themselves in different degrees, we must, as Flo Kennedy has put it, "Stop comparing wounds and go out after the system that does the wounding."

To exemplify the impact of race and sex discrimination, we need only look at data on the economic status of women of all races. I don't need to quote the figures, you are all familiar with them and you know that non-White women, especially Indian women, are consistently at the bottom of the economic ladder; it is clear that both sexism and racism are operative in placing them in the least favored position. White women are consistently at the next-to-the bottom position, while non-White men slightly surpass them in income and employment status. Needless to say, White men are still on top.

It is sometimes alleged that women earn less than men because they have less education. However, women consistently earn less than men who have much less education. Women college graduates still earn less than men with an 8th grade education. Within all racial/ethnic groups, women earn less than men of the same or lesser educational attainment. Women of all races/ethnicities continue to be concentrated in the least valued, lowest status, lowest paying jobs within each industry and occupational group.

Some of us rise close to the top. But we are, statistically speaking, freaks. Fewer than one percent of the women in Federal service, for example, are in top-level positions. Women are, in fact, concentrated in service and clerical occupations. Seventy-four percent of women Federal employees are in grades one through six.

And even within these occupations, women are in those jobs which pay the least. We are, for instance, cooks, not chefs; nurses' aides, not orderlies; waitresses, not bartenders; maids, not custodians; typists or file clerks or secretaries, not "administrative assistants"; and we are teachers, not principals or superintendents. Even in so-called "women's fields" we find that men are in charge.

In fact, women's work is undervalued and underpaid, largely because women do it. You've probably heard the joke about the little boy in nursery school whose teacher asked him, "Do you want to be a lawyer when you grow up — like your mommy?" He replied, "Hell, no! That's women's work!"

This brings us to the schools. Education always has been seen as the road to success. Indeed, one of the major goals of the women's movements of both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been to make our educational system more responsive to children of all racial/ethnic backgrounds and both sexes. Thus, we seek the elimination of sex and race stereotyping in texts, curricula, vocational counseling and guidance materials, in athletic programs, in every aspect of education. Such stereotyping seeks to socialize us into traditional, limiting, restrictive roles; it distorts and omits the facts of female and minority history, role, and status in this country. It keeps some of us out of sports programs, woodworking, metal shop, and the superintendency. Only by focusing attention on our education system at every level can we ensure that our children will learn to be fully human, to develop all of their potential, regardless of sex or race.

Let us look for a moment at source. In order to set a context for our discussion of educational equity, we should remember that the ostensible purposes of public education in the United States often conflict with its actual outcomes. Public education was supposed to educate "citizens" for all participation in the new democratic society of the American "colonies;" but only White males, and in many cases, White male children of property owners, were admitted. For many years, women and non-White men were actually prohibited by law from attending public schools; thus, access to education and, thereby, to the most valued employments — and power — was restricted to a selected segment of the population. The White man's efforts to provide education to the Native Americans whose land had been seized, had a somewhat different purpose. To be blunt, it was frequently part of a raw deal — we will give you a nice school teacher in exchange for Michigan, for example.

Education of Indian children primarily was seen as an instrument of assimilation/acculturation/civilization by the White man.

In many subtle and not so subtle ways, today's schools actually perpetuate a hidden curriculum which reflects only the values, assumptions and goals of the dominant, White and male culture in American society and which ignores and distorts the history and culture of non-White groups and of women.

Through their curricula and their authority structures, our public schools tend to perpetuate the status quo and reinforce existing stratifications of access and benefits according to race, ethnicity,

class, and sex.

We are here today because of our shared optimism. We believe this system can be changed and we are determined to be agents of that change. We intend to eliminate sex and race bias from our schools, texts, curricula, guidance and counseling programs, vocational training, teacher behaviors and attitudes, athletics and physical education courses. While it is important to wage the battle at every level, I would like to focus on the basic need to eliminate the inherent race and sex bias and stereotyping which still mar our instructional materials.

The definitions provided by the Resource Center on Sex Equity (Council of Chief State School Officers, 400 North Capitol Street, N.W. Suite 379, Washington, D.C. 20001) of the six major types of bias manifested in texts are useful in this regard. I would like to share them with you, as guidelines:

First, the most fundamental form of bias is the exclusion of a particular group or groups from representation or consideration in text and/or illustrations. Hispanic and Asian Americans, for example, are rarely found in textbooks; Blacks are still relatively invisible in history texts. And women, who represent 53 percent of the population, are less than 30 percent of the characters or persons in texts, including early readers and everything.

A significant early (Trecker, 1971) study of women in high school history textbooks, suggested that the history and contributions of the American woman, as portrayed in these texts, could be summarized as follows:

> "Women arrived in 1619 . . . They held the Seneca Falls Convention on Women's Rights in 1848. During the rest of the nineteenth century, they participated in reform movements, chiefly temperance, and were exploited in factories. In 1920, they were given the vote. They joined the armed forces for the first time during the second World War and thereafter have enjoyed the good life in America."

The names of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Jane Addams, Dorothea Dix, Frances Perkins, and perhaps Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Carrie Nation would complete the basic text.

We become invisible, in other words. The result of such exclusion is to provide all students with a false view of the world in which they live. Students who are minority and/or female members of the excluded groups are denied an affirmation of their own existence, history and significance in the society.

Second is stereotyping; when minorities and women are portrayed in texts, it is frequently with regard to only one particular attribute, characteristic, or role. For example, Asians are por-

trayed as laundry owners or Suzie Wong; Hispanics are peons, migrant workers or Chiquita Banana types; Native Americans are usually male, either bloodthirsty savages or noble sons of the earth, and Native women are either slovenly squaws or sexy Pocahontases.

In addition to these stereotypes, women are also portrayed primarily as mothers, without any other roles, and as passive dependent persons defined solely in terms of their home and family roles. Occasionally, women are shown as nurses (not doctors), secretaries (not managers) or teachers (not principals).

Numerous studies of sex stereotyping have concluded that girls and women are shown as weak and passive, docile and submissive; girls serve while boys lead. Females do not excel at anything; success comes through dependency on strong males, who often must rescue the helpless females. Boys and men are active, successful achievers, altogether superior human beings. Careers for women and girls are rigidly limited: nurse, secretary, stewardess.

Some painful examples of sex stereotyping in school readers:

"We are willing to share our thoughts with mankind. However, you happen to be a girl."

"Women's advice is not worth two pennies. Your's isn't even worth a penny."

"Look at her mother. She is just like a girl. She gives up."

"We don't want to play with girls," Jeff said. "They'd be too easy to beat."

"He didn't want anyone to talk about feeling sorry for him. He felt so sad he was afraid he might cry."

"Freddy liked Melissa even though she was a giggly girl. He took her for a ride on the back of his tricycle. Melissa giggled in his ear and made it tickle. Then they played ball, but Melissa couldn't catch it and it rolled into the garden."

Females are, first of all, nearly invisible. Boys are active, girls are passive. Girls perform service activities, boys perform leadership activities. Boys develop friendships with other boys, girls rarely play or work together. Boys grow in stature and skills, girls do not.

For women and men, role models are similarly stereotyped. Males rescue, females are rescued. Usually the only female character is a wife or mother portrayed in relation to a man. The three remaining predominant roles for women are fairy, fairy godmother, and underwater maiden, hardly representative of women's actual lives.

Stereotyping denies students a knowledge of the diversity, complexity, and variation among individuals in particular groups. It also denies the commonalities among all groups and thus, the universality of most human characteristics.

Bias can also be perpetuated by reflecting only one perspective or interpretation of an issue or event — this is imbalance of portrayal. We find this frequently in history textbooks, among others. For instance, some textbooks focus on the lack of education of the newly freed slaves after the Civil War, totally ignoring the fact that slaves were forbidden by law from being taught to read and write. Many textbooks focus on the Native American as an "impediment to White settlement," ignoring the fact that "White settlement" in fact meant forcible removal of Native peoples from their ancestral lands. Textbooks also frequently describe the historical relations between Native tribes and the Federal government in terms of treaties and Federal "protection," omitting reference to the vast number of treaties broken by the government and the official Federal policy of appropriation of Native lands. The participation of women in the temperance movement of the late nineteenth century is one of the few instances of female representation in history books. However, the movement is described by amused reference to Carrie Nation and her axe, rather than with explanations of the severe consequences suffered by the wives of alcoholic husbands, men who "owned" their wives, their children and their wives' wages at a time when divorce was virtually impossible and working women were despised and denied the right to vote or participate in public life.

Unreality of portrayal is an attempt to ignore unpleasant facts, such as the reality of prejudice, racism, discrimination, oppression, sexism, and exploitation. History textbooks, for example, almost never reveal that Japanese-Americans were interned in concentration camps during World War II. Rarely do texts describe the White American's deceit toward Native Americans — the broken promises and treaties, the attempts at genocide, and the impact of "Manifest Destiny" on Indian people. Women also suffer from unrealistic portrayals; female workers, for instance, are largely unrepresented in textbooks, though nearly half of the work force is female. Instead, women are portrayed only as mommies with starched aprons.

Fragmentation and isolation is a form of bias in which content regarding minority group persons and women is separated out and put in separate chapters, such as one entitled "Bootleggers, Suffragettes and Other Diversions," or "Ten Distinguished Black Americans," or "Indian Warriors." This is a kind of separate but unequal treatment which keeps us in textbook ghettoes or reservations.

Such fragmentation and isolation imply that the history, experiences, and contributions of minority and female peoples are somehow entirely unrelated to the dominant — usually White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, and male — culture. Such bias presumes that this dominant culture has progressed without any reliance on the contributions and influence of racial/ethnic minorities and women.

And finally, linguistic bias characterizes all our instructional materials, as well as our daily interaction. Because our language carries our concepts, and is our only means of communication, it is a powerful tool. It is significant that we use the male pronoun "he" to refer generally to males and females. It reflects our culture's sense that men are people and women are "others."

I often suggest to those who doubt the deep significance of words that they try it the other way for a few days. Use the generic "she" which, after all, includes "he." As the generic "woman" includes "man." Try it.

In addition to eliminating these forms of bias from our texts and other instructional materials, we need to focus particular attention on materials in the fields of history, political science, law, literature, sociology and psychology. We must restore the lost and distorted history of minorities and women and correct those inaccuracies which pride and bias perpetuate. A few of the more obvious examples: Columbus did not "discover" America; he landed on a continent populated by politically, economically, socially, and spiritually sophisticated peoples. Later European settlers were welcomed by the Native Americans and were taught survival skills.

The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are, indeed, two of the world's noblest human and civil rights documents; yet the Declaration's statement that, "All men are created equal" meant just that — quite literally and *not* generically. The Constitution defined the Blacks who had been stolen from their African kingdoms and enslaved in America as less than full persons. The Fourteenth Amendment is yet another human and civil rights milestone, guaranteeing, finally, equal protection of the laws to the men among the freed slaves. Women of all races are still excluded from these protections by the Constitution, though the right to vote was finally guaranteed in this century.

Realistic and honest portrayals of our Nation's past and present are essential if we are to build a future based on the truth; perhaps the bravest chapters in our history are the liberation struggles of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries — the anti-slavery and early feminist and suffrage movements, the labor movement, the current civil rights and feminist movements, the struggle of Native Americans to regain their tribal sovereignty and autonomy

and to restore their legitimate treaty rights, the movement for bilingualism and multiculturalism spearheaded by the growing Hispanic and Asian American populations, the recent movement for the rights of disabled persons to equal access to society's benefits and responsibilities. These human rights struggles should figure prominently and proudly in our curricula and in our national consciousness.

A more recent study of reading texts confirms earlier information — the vast majority of characters are White and male. White men held 70 percent of the career roles. Minorities and women were omitted or stereotyped. Native American men, for instance, were cast almost exclusively in the roles of "Indian brave, medicine man, or chief"; students must, therefore, assume that these roles represent the current careers of Native men. Needless to say, Native women were nearly invisible. They appeared as characters in only 21 of more than 5,000 stories. Such bias and stereotyping die hard. Equal educational opportunity for women and girls is necessary to enable women to pursue a variety of careers and achieve true economic independence for themselves and their families. Fifty percent of women are in the labor force, yet many are under-employed: their potential is often wasted. Unemployment is high among women, particularly teenagers and minorites. Women still are under-represented in many lucrative and important trades and professions, particularly those which require advanced graduate or professional degrees and those which require technical vocational training.

Structures, behavior, policies and practices which reinforce traditional sex roles and limit the opportunities and aspirations of girls and women still prevail throughout the educational system — from preschool to graduate school, in vocational education and non-formal adult education programs. Sex segregated classes have been the norm in vocational and physical education, for example.

Counseling practices have discouraged girls and women from seeking to enter non-traditional fields and from enrolling in courses, particularly in mathematics and the sciences, which would qualify them for such fields. Curricula and textbooks, as we have seen, perpetuate sex stereotypes and biases, and distort or omit the facts of women's contributions to our history.

Because sex bias, discrimination, and stereotyping take many forms, both overt and subtle, and pervade every aspect of our society, we need a comprehensive, multi-faceted strategy for eliminating sexism in education.

During the decade of the 1970s, the Congress enacted legislation which represents three strategies to achieve an end of sexism in education and, through education, in economic opportunities.

Title IX of the Education Amendments, enacted by Congress in 1972, prohibits sex discrimination in employment and provision of services in all federally assisted educational programs, including elementary and secondary schools, institutions of higher education, and vocational education programs. The law is far-reaching in its application, covering all of education, including athletic programs.

Voluntary compliance in some areas has resulted in significant improvement. The enrollment of women in graduate and professional schools, including law and medicine, has increased dramatically, for example. Yet women still represent only 20 percent of the recipients of doctoral degrees and are underemployed in the professional fields for which they are trained. Effective enforcement of the reqirements of Title IX by the Federal government would improve the status of women and girls in education significantly.

The second strategy is the Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA), a small but important program enacted by Congress in 1974. This program provides Federal funds for projects designed to promote educational equity for women and girls at the local and institutional level. For example, the program provides support for the development of new, non-sexist curricula, texts, films, guidance and counseling materials. WEEA projects also provide training and retraining for educational personnel in issues relating to the elimination of sex bias and stereotyping.

Other projects have focused attention on the educational needs of underemployed and unemployed women and on the particular problems of urban and rural women, women of various racial/ethnic groups, of differing ages, and in all socio-economic classes.

WEEA serves as a focal point for all of our efforts to achieve equality for women in education; yet we know that the achievement of true equality of opportunity for women and girls in education requires commitment and attention throughout the world of education. Thus, the third Federal strategy incorporates these concerns into existing, major Federal education programs, such as those administered under the Vocational Education Act, for example. In 1976, Congress amended this statute to include specific requirements for efforts to achieve sex equity. Thus, for the first time, explicit statutory language mandates activities to eliminate sex bias, stereotyping, and discrimination in federally funded vocational education programs and requires each state to employ a sex equity coordinator working full-time to ensure the elimination of bias and occupational segregation in all vocational programs.

I hope some of these ideas will be useful to you during the course of this conference, as you seek to forge, refine and recreate a uniquely Indian brand of feminism — with commitment both to educational equity and to tribal identity and heritage. We must all

be part of the sisterhood of women for the sake of the young sisters and daughters, and sons and brothers, whose lives will be enriched by the elimination of sexism and racism from every facet of their educational experience.

Retrospect And Prospect: The Past, Present, And Future For Indian Women

[THIS SPEECH WAS PRESENTED AT THE OHOYO CONFERENCE, ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX., SEPTEMBER 1979.]

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I have not been attending Indian conferences over the past several years because I have been finishing a doctorate. Yet, when I received this invitation I knew I would be coming to this meeting because of its very nature, the involvement of Indian women.

I want to talk briefly about Indian women in America's past and then speak of our challenge today and in the future because the future is tomorrow and tomorrow and that time is always upon us.

THE PAST

Our past as Indian women is as checkered as the geography of the nation. We are many people, many tribes, speaking many languages, and representing a diversity of cultures. It was that way when we were discovered by Amerigo Vespucci or Christopher Columbus, and named Indians, later changed to American Indians, and now called by some Native Americans.

In the early days, legends, folk tales, skinpaintings, and whispers, tell of peace, prosperity, other Indians, battles with strange new groups and horses, spirits and "new gods," wars, famine, and new homelands. In those days, Indian people and their life-styles quickly responded to new circumstances and events — and obviously were ready to adapt materials, things, and concepts which

improved their lives. We must always remember that the outside pressures on Indian people came at various times. The Pueblo Indians and Indians along the Eastern seaboard, the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot in Maine, the Iroquois in New York, the Powhatan Confederacy in Virginia, the Croatan and Cherokee in North Carolina, and the Creeks in Florida — all felt the impacts of European cultural imperialism 200 years before the rest of Indian America. After the 1830s, the European migration to America increased and from then until 1900, Indian people throughout the land felt the impact of the American settlers, the U.S. Cavalry, the Buffalo Soldiers, and the wrath against Indian tribes and communities.

During this period, several things occurred in the American consciousness and was reflected in the nation's history and literature. The myths of the American Indian man and woman evolved and after taking their place in the literature have stayed to portray us to this day.

WHAT ARE THESE MYTHS?

Indian men are either the noble savage (tall, dark, breech-clothed, Mohawk-plaited hair) from the literary pictorial of Rousseau or the blood-thirsty savage (tall, wild-looking Bowie knife-swinging, pinto-riding man) from the era of Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett, and George Custer. Indian women are either a fair-skinned, beautiful storybook princess, who always saves a White adventurer from the cruel axe of her tribesmen as Pocahontas did and then is carried away to be the toast of English society; or a fat, dumpy squaw — who is the jackie of all trades — the childbearer, the food gatherer and preparer, the seamstress, the house and village-keeper in times of war and peace. In short, the drudge.

Both images of Indian women and men are grossly exaggerated at both ends of the scale but are still prevalent throughout this nation today. There were some truths in our past which need to be maintained and built upon:

- The concept of sharing and caring for our clans/tribes/young/old.
- Functional education for everyday living.
- Awareness and keen ackowledgement of the spiritual world.
- The will to survive.

TODAY'S POSITIVE ISSUES

Let me discuss with you some of the positive and negative issues at work in Indian affairs today.

American Indian tribes and communities have seen tremendous strides since 1964. Much of this is a result of the civil rights

movement in this nation, a movement which:

- Created an awareness of cultural diversity and the needs of minority children in the country.
- Created the Indian advocacy desks in the federal government outside the Bureau of Indian Affairs. These desks became the advocates and orienters about Indians to the new policy-makers. They became the cutting edge for new Indian resources throughout the Federal government.
- Passed education programs for disadvantaged children which gave financial assistance to tribal and community groups of cultural enrichment programs. Developed by Indian people, these programs also brought the role models into the classroom, Indian people who came through Teacher Corps and Title I ESEA, etc.
- Expanded educational opportunities for Indians in the last decade. Encouraged movement of Indians into higher education and the professional schools. We now have a limited number of doctors, lawyers, teachers, businessmen, as a result of this.

Title IV, the Indian Education Act, has helped expand the dialogue between Indian parents and the public schools. It has brought more cultural enrichment into the classroom and created a greater awareness among Indians about each other and their needs.

This era has also seen a movement to make political governments on the reservation — the tribal councils, into more viable local governments with more direct power and Indian involvement in tribal issues. Phenomenal growth in the Federal budgets and services to reservation Indians has occurred.

TODAY'S NEGATIVES

Let's review for a moment some of the negative things which have happened in this era. Although there has been phenomenal expansion in the Federal budgets to bring social services to Indian people wherever they live, very little growth has occurred in trained Indian man and womanpower. Thus, there is no assurance that these social services are of top quality and that Indian people are receiving the full benefits. There have been intensive political wars between Indians living on reservations and in urban areas, and those who have never lived on reservations but lived historically in Indian communities. These divisions were encouraged by White politicians and have been intensified by particular national Indian political leadership. These groups are lobbying full-time to cut whole segments of Indian people out of Federal programs and grossly distorting the truth about who is and is not an Indian. When one realizes that over 52 percent of the Indians do not live on

reservations the severity of this problem becomes evident.

In spite of increased expenditure on Indian programs at Federal levels, no clear or uniform data base on Indians — women/children/reservation/urban, etc., is available.

With increased educational opportunities has come a large number of educated Indians. Two things have happened:

- These educated Indians have come out of the educational system which has turned them on to the opportunities in the American economy, and turned them off to assisting and serving Indian communities. They have lost sight of their traditions and commitment to Indian people.
- Many of these individuals have become the "lone" Indian in their job. They are expected to know everything about all American Indians. They don't! Yet they are not honest enough to say so and, in fact, may misinform critical policymakers who could benefit Indian people.

Up until this time I've talked about the Indian man and woman in the context of the Indian community or tribe. That is because in our struggle to maintain our Indianness we have always been concerned about our family, our relatives, our tribe, our community, our future as a race of people.

INDIAN WOMEN

American history recorded few things about Indian women. What were they? One I've already mentioned — Pocahontas saving Captain John Smith. The other, Sacajawea guiding the Lewis and Clark expedition westward to Oregon.

I've spent the last four years of my life poring through the archives, nationally and in the state of North Carolina, concerning Indian education. I found recorded only a few things about Indian women. The first Indian woman finished Philadelphia Medical School for Women in 1848. No name or tribe was given in the Commissioner of Indian Affairs' reports.

Those same reports record that the Indian girls at Albuquerque Indian School sewed 400 sets of pantaloons for the Indian girls at a number of the large off-reservation boarding schools in the 1880s.

In my own community of Lumbee Indians in North Carolina, our first teacher to have a four-year degree, from Carson Newman College, Tennessee, was a Ms. Ruthie Sampson who came back to teach in the Indian schools of Robeson County.

I am merely illustrating the consistent quiet, effective, but invisible role of Indian women in their communities and the circumstances in which they found themselves.

Now what of this future of Indian women? We are the backbone, heart, and brains of our people. You and I, and our daughters, are the mothers of this and future generations of Indian children. We are the cultural carriers of our generation today and tomorrow.

It is from our hands, hearts, and minds that the future will be built. There can be either scattered, caged, remnant bands of Indians tucked away on reservations, in urban ghettos, isolated rural communities, or assimilated and acculturated Indians living in Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington, D.C. and New York; or there can be strong, happy, assertive (yes, assertive) coalitions of Indian tribes, communites, and people in the United States.

I hope each Indian woman here in this room will pledge herself to this last alternative. For if we do not, the Indian world and its people are doomed to extinction. Oh, there will be a few traditional Sioux, Hopi, Navajo and other groups tucked away, but the majority of the Indian people will be scattered to the winds.

How do we (you and I) build this strong coalition of Indian tribes, communities, and people?

We begin by acknowledging the diversity among all Indians — in cultures, in physical appearance, and legal definition.

We stop pretending that the only Indians who are real Indians are traditional reservation Indians.

We acknowledge that the great majority of Indians are people in transition who need an opportunity to relearn and restore values that they cherish from their cultures.

We stop living a White woman's stereotype of Indian women. That is 20 pounds of turquoise, dyed black hair and painted olive complexion. This is a sensitive area and I do not mean to offend anyone. I'm just stressing that if a White photographer wants you to wear feathers and beads and you don't feel that is you, you are still an Indian woman, and don't do it! Americans must learn to deal with us as we really are!

Begin seeking the truth about all Indians. If someone is preaching hate and division about and against other Indians, find out the truth yourself and set the record straight.

Consciously raise your children with a broad knowledge and understanding of tribal legend, folk-ways and histories. This will take creativity and work on your part.

Assess the true plight of Indian women where you live and band together to change the cultural genocide taking place in your community against women, children, and men.

Personally talk and encourage women and young girls to seek their full potential in skills and career development. Reinforce the concept of career development and the relaying of skills, opportunities, and service back to Indian people, both in your own tribe and in other tribes.

Out of this meeting let's begin to reinforce and support each other in whatever we are pursuing. Let's begin to monitor laws, legislation pending in Congress, Federal programs and see where Indian women are in each instance. Let's take positions and ensure a fair share for Indian women and girls in jobs, services and programs.

Let's move together against medical experiments using Indian women for sterilization and other purposes. Move against medical directors and Federal officials who do this — expose them in the press and ask for their resignations. Let's make sure medical information and services are open to Indian women, where and when they need them.

In employment we (you and I) must use Title IX to look at Federally funded programs at the tribal, state, and federal levels to assure that Indian women who wish to do so may work in those jobs, competently and with an opportunity for growth. In this area, we need to call upon our sisters in the women's movement to assist us with their skills in breaking down these barriers.

I must say a special word about my work in education — for it has been the main instrument used in breaking up the Indian way of life. Education is a critical instrument in the ultimate development and growth of Indian people.

For generations our people on and off the reservation and in non-reservation communities, have been subjected to totally non-Indian formal education. This meant traditions had to be reinforced in the homes by parents, who themselves had been "mainstreamed" in their formal education. Today, the Redwoman must encourage her child and children in the community to seek and obtain an education.

Some cultural aspects of Indian life are being brought into the classroom as a result of the compensatory education programs and the Indian Education Act. Indian women as cultural transmitters and teachers must begin coming together to assess and assist in forming these activities. It is this effort which can correct stereotypes which America has about Indian women and Indians, generally. It is also this effort which can build a base for unity among all Indian people, which recognizes our differences and similarities as Indian people.

All of us in this room are people of color. That simply means we are non-White. Indian women must lead the way in their tribes and communities to wipe out distrust and hate against other minorities. These people are human, too, and have been subjected to the same cultural oppression as Indians. The great majority of other minorities do not wish to be digested up in the great "American Melting Pot." They want to marry their own kind, live comfortably, and have freedom of opportunity open to them.

As Indian women, we must build a strong, caring concern for each other and all Indian people. We must structure a coalition out of this meeting to assist each other on common and particular concerns.

We must also join our sisters in the women's movement, majority and minority, to fight for women's equal rights. We must educate them about us, seek their assistance, learn about them, share their concerns and fight together.

I have talked of Indian people, tribes and communities because as Indian women we strive to protect and strengthen our people. This is not inconsistent with our fight to develop, achieve, and be strong Indian women who can interpret and work for themselves and Indian people in any career in or outside of the Indian world.

Please take a minute and list your vision for Indian people. I have a dream for Indian women and *it is not one which says*: "My people are tired, poor, hungry. I shall fight no more." Let me say in reverence to Chief Joseph, how sad my heart always is when I read or hear that statement.

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